"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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THE WEATHER

Today, partly sunny, breezy, cool, high 59. **Tonight,** clouds, low 52. **Tomorrow,** not as breezy and warmer, a morning shower, partly sunny, high 65. Weather map, Page B6.

CAUGHT OFF GUARD, ISRAEL FIGHTS BACK

Missed Warning Signs and Slow Responses

This article is by ***Julian E. Barnes****,* ***David E. Sanger*** *and* ***Eric Schmitt****.*

WASHINGTON — The devastating surprise attack by Hamas on Saturday represented an equally stunning intelligence failure by Israel that involved undetected warnings, overwhelmed missile defenses and a slow response by apparently unprepared military forces, former and current U.S. officials said.

American officials said Hamas had achieved a complete tactical surprise, reflected in a death toll of at least 700 Israelis. The Palestinian militant group sent hundreds of fighters through breached walls, breaking through with bulldozers and then killing civilians and soldiers in shooting sprees that went on for hours.

None of Israel's intelligence services had specific warning that Hamas was preparing a sophisticated attack that required coordinated land, air and sea strikes, according to an Israeli defense official and American officials.

The success astounded American officials with experience in the region. Over the years, Israel has set up a network of electronic intercepts, sensors and human informants throughout Gaza, which is about half the area of New York's five boroughs. Israel and its neighbors have in the past invested heavily in trying to track and block Hamas's networks, often intercepting shipments of missile components.

That past success has made all the more urgent a series of questions about Israel's failures on Saturday.

Why was Israel's Iron Dome missile defense system, now a dozen years old, apparently overwhelmed by the barrage of inexpensive but deadly missiles at the opening of the attack? How did Hamas manage to build such a big arsenal of rockets and missiles without Israeli intelligence detecting the growing stockpile?

Was Israel too focused on threats from Hezbollah and the West Bank, rather than focusing military and intelligence resources on Gaza? And why were so many Israeli forces on leave or distant from the southern border, allowing Hamas to overrun Israeli military bases near Gaza?

Neither American nor Israeli officials would address the questions on Sunday. But clearly the answers could affect the reputation of Israel's military and intelligence agencies, and the political future of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

"Hamas has challenged the very fundamental concept of Israeli deterrence," said Kenneth F. McKenzie Jr., a retired Marine

Continued on Page A6

READYING FOR BATTLE Netanyahu warns Israelis of a "long and difficult war" ahead. PAGE A6

FATIMA SHBAIR/ASSOCIATED PRESS

SAMAR ABU ELOUF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MAYA ALLERUZZO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

From top, an Israeli airstrike on the Gaza Strip on Sunday; Palestinians digging through the rubble of a tower; and the relatives of an Israeli who went missing after an attack by Hamas militants.

At a Dance and a Kibbutz, Attackers Slipped In and Unleashed Horror

This article is by ***Patrick Kingsley****,* ***Aaron Boxerman*** *and* ***Gabby Sobelman****.*

BEERSHEBA, Israel — The thousands of young Israelis had spent the night dancing at an outdoor rave, many clad in tie-dyed T-shirts and crop tops.

They ended the night in a massacre.

Just after dawn on Saturday, hundreds of Palestinian militants bulldozed their way through the barricades between Gaza and Israel, drove into scores of Israeli towns along the border and sped through the farmland where the rave was reaching its sunrise climax.

The militants gunned down more than 100 ravers and abducted others, according to two senior Israeli officials, as they sprinted through the open fields. Video verified by The New York Times showed militants driving off on a motorcycle with an Israeli woman squeezed between them, screaming as her boyfriend was marched off on foot, his arm wrenched behind his back.

Those who survived often did so by hiding in nearby bushes, some of them for hours.

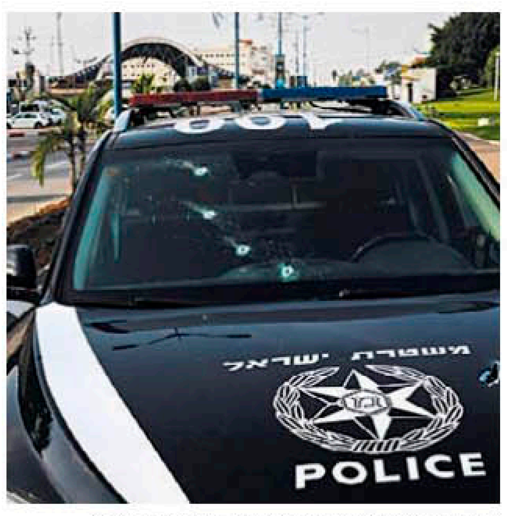
Bullets whistled overhead and shots resounded all around, said Andrey Peairie, 35, one of the survivors. He described crawling up to the top of a nearby hill to get a better sense of what was happening.

"Smoke and flames and gunfire," said Mr. Peairie, a tech worker. "I have a military background, but I never was in a situation like this."

So began one of the bloodiest weekends in Israeli and Palestinian history, the full details of which started to emerge on Sunday as survivors recounted the most complex and brazen attack on their nation since the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

About 700 Israelis were killed and at least 150 taken hostage by Palestinian militants, according to a preliminary assessment shared by a senior Israeli military official. Videos circulated of children and grandparents abducted from their homes in Israel and roadsides strewn with dead bodies. A National Security Council spokesperson said Sunday that "several" American citizens had been killed in the fighting.

The assault, staggering in its scale, prompted a fierce counterattack from Israel that has killed more than 400 Gazans in missile strikes and gun battles, according to Gazan health officials.



TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bullet holes in a police car on Sunday in Sderot, near Gaza.

The violence began familiarly enough — with rocket fire from Gaza, just after dawn.

Amir Tibon and his neighbors in Kibbutz Nahal Oz, a village that stands a few hundred yards from Gaza, have become accustomed to frequent rocket fire from militants.

Bomb shelters are installed in every home in the kibbutz, and residents are used to rushing inside them every few weeks.

But soon after Mr. Tibon, 35, took shelter on Saturday with his wife and two young daughters, he knew that there was something

Continued on Page A8

NEWS ANALYSIS

'Shaken to the Core,' Israelis Question the Nation's Security

By ROGER COHEN

The most sweeping invasion of Israeli territory in decades, conducted by a Hamas force that had been widely seen as a ragtag collection of militants, has delivered a psychological shock to Israel so great that its very foundations are being questioned: its army, its intelligence services, its government and its capacity to control the millions of Palestinians in its midst.

The war that began with a Hamas assault that has taken as many as 700 Israeli lives is not an existential struggle for the survival of the Israeli state itself, as were the 1948 war triggered by Israel's foundation or the 1973 Yom Kippur War. But 75 years, and a half-century, respectively, from those conflicts, the sight of villages once again overrun, hostages seized and desperate civilians being killed by Palestinian militants has awakened a kind of primal dread.

"Israelis are shaken to the core," said Yuval Shany, a professor of international law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. "There is outrage at Hamas, but also at the political and military leadership that allowed this to happen. You would expect a state this strong to prevent such things, yet 75 years from Israel's

Continued on Page A7

Jailed Without Charges and Pressured to Testify

Migrants Are Detained for Smuggling Trials

This article is by ***Sarah Cutler****,* ***Steve Eder*** *and* ***Robert Gebeloff****.*

Several months ago, as a federal judge worked through a docket of smuggling cases in the bustling border city of Laredo, Texas, three people were escorted into the courtroom.

Because they were undocumented immigrants, the judge explained, they would be sent to jail. But they were not being charged with a crime. Instead, they would be compelled to testify against the people accused of helping them enter the United States.

The hearing took less than five minutes. The immigrants never spoke, not to ask questions or explain why they had made the illegal journey across the Rio Grande. They were then taken to jail, where they joined a long list of people — nearly 104,000 since 2003 — detained as so-called material witnesses in federal criminal proceedings.

While the law allowing the detention of witnesses in criminal cases dates back to George Washington's presidency, its modern use has been most prevalent along the Mexican border as successive administrations have prioritized the prosecution of human-smuggling cases, according to an analysis by The New York Times of U.S. Marshals Service data obtained through a public records request.

The annual number of detainees first spiked during the George W. Bush administration, peaked at more than 8,500 during Donald J.

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Biden Allies Try to Quash 3rd-Party Candidates

Fearing 'Spoiler' Votes May Help Trump

By REID J. EPSTEIN and LISA LERER

WASHINGTON — Powerful allies of President Biden are aggressively working to stop third-party and independent presidential candidacies, fearing that an outside bid could cost Democrats an election that many believe will again come down to a few percentage points in key battleground states.

As attempts to mount outside campaigns multiply, a broad coalition has accelerated a multipronged assault to starve such efforts of financial and political support and warn fellow Democrats that supporting outsider candidacies, including the centrist organization No Labels, could throw the election to former President Donald J. Trump.

Mr. Biden's top aides have blessed the multimillion-dollar offensive, which cuts across the party, tapping the resources of the Democratic National Committee, labor unions, abortion rights groups, top donors and advocacy groups backing moderate and liberal Democrats. Even the president has helped spread the word: Mr. Biden, in an interview with ProPublica, said a No Labels candidacy would "help the other guy."

The endeavor is far-reaching. In Washington, Democratic allies are working alongside top party strategists to spread negative information about possible outsider candidates. Across the country, lawyers have begun researching moves to limit ballot access — or

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Devastation in Afghanistan

Local officials reported 813 confirmed deaths from earthquakes, though the toll was expected to rise. PAGE A10

Wheat, Flowers and Graves

In Hroza, Ukraine, where a missile strike killed dozens, survivors begin identifying and burying the dead. PAGE A9

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Dog Bites and Dynamics

The end of a pet's troubled term in the White House hints at the complicated relationships inside one of the world's most exclusive mansions. PAGE A11

Not Taking No for an Answer

Mayor Eric Adams of New York traveled to three countries to discourage migrants from coming. But many said they wouldn't be deterred. PAGE A12

Awaiting 'Stranger Things'

The effects of the writers' and actors' strikes ripple far from Hollywood, including the Georgia town where the show is partly filmed. PAGE A15

BUSINESS B1-7

West Africa Wants a Fair Share

Resource-rich countries like Ghana are cut out of profits from manufacturing. A movement aims to change that. PAGE B1

Fighting for the Facts

The momentum behind groups that aim to combat online falsehoods has started to taper off, fact checkers said. PAGE B1

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More Than a Polymath

A solo show at the Whitney Museum of American Art presents the "far-out" scope of the legacy of Harry Smith, painter, folk musicologist, filmmaker and obsessive collector. PAGE C1

'Loki' Tackles the Multiverse

Eric Martin, head writer of the Disney+ series starring Tom Hiddleston, discusses the themes that will be explored in Season 2 and what will be revealed about the God of Mischief. PAGE C2

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Thomas L. Friedman PAGE A18

SPORTS D1-8

A Hall of Fame Father

Steve Young, longtime quarterback and broadcaster, has found a new calling: coaching a school flag football team that includes his daughters. PAGE D1

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The New York Times

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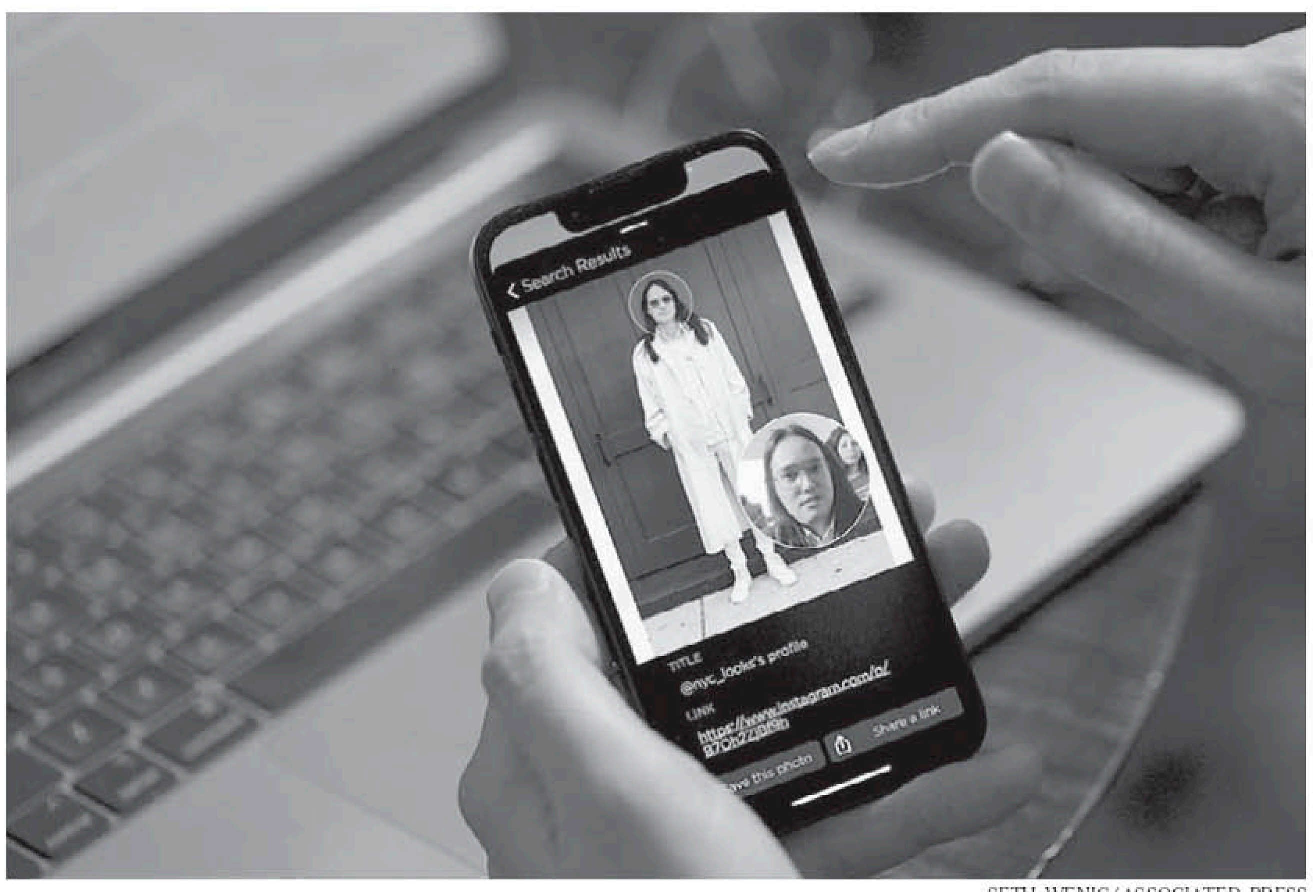
The Story Behind the Story

Facing the Reality of a Concerning Technology

The reporter Kashmir Hill explains the dangers of facial recognition, many of which are already here.



SETH WENIG/ASSOCIATED PRESS
Hoan Ton-That, Clearview AI's chief executive, demonstrated software with his face in 2022.

BENJAMIN NORMAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Madison Square Garden has used facial recognition to keep some people from entering.

Kashmir Hill, a business reporter at The New York Times, has spent the last few years covering facial recognition technology and the privacy concerns that come with it. She reported on the police departments that use the technology to arrest suspects — sometimes the wrong people. She wrote about lawyers using it to clear their clients' names. And with her colleague Adam Satariano, Ms. Hill reported on the grocery stores in Britain that scan faces of shoplifters to prevent them from re-entering their premises.

One private company has presented the possibilities and perils of facial recognition more than any other: Clearview AI, which scraped billions of photos from the internet and social media sites to build an app with a database of 30 billion faces. When someone in law enforcement, for example, submits a photo of a face to the Clearview AI app, the software will unearth the internet sites and profiles where that face appears.

In addition to covering the beat for The Times, Ms. Hill has written a book on Clearview AI and the world it ushered in. She joined the "Hard Fork" podcast to discuss her reporting. Here is her conversation with the podcast's hosts, Kevin Roose and Casey Newton. This excerpt has been edited and condensed.

KEVIN ROOSE: How did Clearview AI come onto your radar, and what did you learn about this secretive company?

KASHMIR HILL: I got a tip a few years ago. Somebody emailed me and said: I've come across something that looks like it's crossed the Rubicon on facial recognition technology. I think you'll be interested.

He attached a 26-page PDF that had a privileged and confidential legal memo from Paul Clement, a former solicitor general now in private practice. Paul had been hired by Clearview AI, and he was describing what they did, saying, I tested it on attorneys at my firm; it works incredibly well.

He had written this memo for the company to explain to police why using Clearview AI was not illegal, that they wouldn't break any state or federal laws and that this was constitutional to use.

CASEY NEWTON: When you first read that document, did you think, Oh wow, I can't believe this technology exists, or had you been bracing for something like it to arrive?

HILL: Both. I was a little shocked to hear that some company I'd never heard of before was selling this rather than Facebook or Google. I wondered if it was real or snake oil. But part of me flashed back to this moment in 2011 when I had gone to a conference called Face Facts, organized by the Federal Trade Commission. They were grappling with facial recognition technology for the first time.

The technology didn't work that well in the real world, but it seemed like it was starting to get better. They had Google and Facebook in the room, and academics and privacy activists. They were talking about what to do about facial recognition, and the one thing that all those people agreed on — and they don't often agree on things — was that no one should build an app that allows you to take a photo of a stranger and find out who they are.

ROOSE: And why not? What is the scenario that people are so worried about?

HILL: Just imagine you're a protester at a Planned Parenthood, and a woman walks out of the abortion clinic. You take her photo. You know who she is. Or, you're at a bar and you're talking to some guy, and you decide he's a creep. You walk away. Meanwhile, he takes a photo of you, and can get your name or maybe find out where you live. There's just so many ways in which this could be used very creepily.

ROOSE: Law enforcement agencies are using it to solve crimes. Who else is using this technology, and how are they using it?

HILL: Facial recognition technology is popular with retailers. There's been a big spike in shoplifting, and a lot of companies want to be able to identify people who've stolen from them before and kick them out. One of the most famous uses is at Madison Square Garden, which installed facial recognition technology a few years ago to keep out security threats, but in the last year, decided it would be a great way to keep out their enemies.

They decided to start banning lawyers who worked at law firms that have sued them, and got their photos from the law firm websites and then put them on a watch list. When lawyers who work at one of those firms tries to get into a Mariah Carey concert or a Knicks game, they get stopped at the door and turned away.

ROOSE: So some people are probably hearing this for the first time and thinking it's bonkers. Do folks have any sort of legal protection in the United States against this kind of technology?

HILL: It depends on where you live, how well protected your face is. The state that has the strongest law is Illinois. They've got something called the Biometric Information Privacy Act, which passed in 2008, that says you need to get people's consent to use biometric information from their faceprints, their fingerprints, their voiceprint.

You'll have to pay up to $5,000 if you do not. Madison Square Garden owns a venue in Chicago, a theater, and it can't use facial recognition technology to enforce the ban because of that law. But at the federal level, there's really nothing about this.

Listen to the full episode at nytimes.com/column/hard-fork.

The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Crossword	C3	Weather	B6
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AUDIO
On a recent episode of "The Daily" podcast, Representative Tim Burchett, Republican of Tennessee, explained why he voted to oust House Speaker Kevin McCarthy last week. Listen at *nytimes.com/thedaily.*

QUIZ
If you love novels that take you on a journey, you'll ace a Book Review Quiz Bowl that asks you to find the titles of adventure travel books. *nytimes.com/books*

GAMES
What's the relationship between the words "comic," "met," "rock" and "soap"? In Connections, players must group words by a common theme. (Some clues in today's Mini Crossword on Page A3 nod to the format.) Test your wit and vocabulary at *nytimes.com/connections.*

Quote of the Day

"We talk about inclusion a lot now. This is what it feels like and looks like. And it feels like we should have been doing this for 30 years."

STEVE YOUNG, *a Hall of Fame quarterback who is a volunteer coach for the girls' flag football team at Menlo School in Atherton, Calif. Page D1.*

Today's Top Trending Headlines

Israel-Gaza Conflict Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu warned Israelis to brace themselves for a long and difficult war on Sunday, a day after Hamas, the Palestinian militant group that controls the Gaza Strip, launched surprise attacks. It was one of the broadest invasions on Israeli territory for 50 years. Israel has retaliated with airstrikes. Times reporters in Jerusalem and around the world are covering the news.

Opinion| Travis, Don't Fumble Taylor! In a new column, Maureen Dowd asked: "Have men evolved on the issue of equality more slowly? Even very successful men have confessed to me that they feel intimidated by powerful women." She added: "I worry for Taylor Swift," who has been linked to Travis Kelce, the Kansas City Chiefs tight end. Fans from both universes sounded off in the comments.

Feeling Terrible After Your Covid Shot? Then It's Probably Working. Fever, chills and fatigue may all be signs of vigorous antibody production, a new study finds. Apoorva Mandavilli, who has been writing about immunity to the coronavirus since March 2020, put the latest information about the virus into context.

A Texas Community Attracts Migrant Home Buyers, and Republican Ire The development near Houston offers cheap land and unconventional financing to buyers, many of them undocumented immigrants. Gov. Greg Abbott has called for hearings. J. David Goodman, who is based in Houston, reported from Liberty County, Texas.

A Headline From History

A THINKING BIRD OR JUST ANOTHER BIRDBRAIN?

October 9, 1999. Dr. Irene Pepperberg, a scientist at the University of Arizona, had been teaching her 23-year-old parrot, Alex, to perform complex tasks that only a few other nonhuman species, like chimpanzees, could perform, The Times reported. Like many parrots, Alex could vocalize, but more than that, Dr. Pepperberg told The Times, he could think. For example, when she asked Alex what color corn was, he answered yellow, even though there was no corn around. To her, this meant that he had an "abstract concept" of the meaning of the words "color," "corn" and "yellow." Not everyone believed Alex could think. "The words are responses," another scientist said, "not language." In 2007, Dr. Pepperberg put Alex into his cage for the night. Alex said: "You be good, see you tomorrow. I love you." Alex died that night; his life prompted a Times obituary.

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Facts of Interest

Nearly half of Afghanistan's 39 million people face severe hunger, including about three million on the brink of starvation, according to the United Nations' World Food Program.

Entire Villages Razed as Death Toll Soars From Quakes in Afghanistan A10

The painter and filmmaker Harry Smith collected a variety of objects, among them antique tools, tarot cards, textiles, toys and even used bandages found at tattoo shops.

Showcasing a Culture-Altering Shaman C1

Fueled by faster drivers, bigger vehicles and less police enforcement of traffic laws, pedestrian deaths nationwide rose 77 percent to 7,624 deaths from 2010 to 2021. In California alone, 1,100 pedestrians died in crashes last year.

California Could Install Speed Cameras As Deaths of Pedestrians Rise A16

In 1988, Anthony Nesty became the first Black person to win an Olympic gold medal in swimming. Last month, he was named the first Black head coach of a U.S. Olympic swimming team.

No Longer Just 'Goggles and a Suit': U.S. Olympic Coach Has Seen Lots Of Changes D3

Africa grows 70 percent of the world's raw cocoa beans, but produces only 1 percent of the chocolate — missing out on a part of the business that generates the biggest returns and is dominated by American and European multinationals.

A Chocolate Factory's Vision: Share the Wealth at Home B1

Donald J. Trump was the first U.S. president in nearly one and a half centuries who did not have a dog in the White House.

Dog Bites and Complicated Dynamics With the Boss A11

CHI PARK

Reader Corner

Tiny Love Stories

Tiny Love Stories, a Modern Love project, asks contributors to share their epic love stories in 100 words or fewer. Read one edited Tiny Love Story below.

After six years of living in small towns, I found myself in Chicago for a monthlong research fellowship. I had forgotten about the closed faces of people in big cities. Running along the lake, next to heavy traffic, amid so many blank stares, made me homesick. Then I saw the woman: once, twice, and then again and again. She rode her bicycle, hair streaming behind her, cheering on runners. "You're awesome!" she would shout. Runners came to life, responding with waves and smiles and fist pumps. Spreading good cheer, she cracked open people's faces, if only for a moment.

KATE JOHNSTON

What to Watch in Politics

Key Takeaways From Washington and Across the Nation

TODD HEISLER/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Nikki Haley and Gov. Ron DeSantis at the second Republican presidential primary debate.

Most election cycles produce one: a presidential candidate with a seemingly vaunted résumé that doesn't translate into electoral success. Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida and former Gov. Nikki Haley of South Carolina must overcome former President Donald J. Trump's lead in the G.O.P. race to avoid a similar fate. Neil Vigdor shares some previous examples.

Secretary of state? Check. U.S. senator? Check. Former first lady? Ditto. In 2008 and 2016, Hillary Clinton had appeared, at least on paper, to have all the necessary credentials to become the first woman president. But her White House ambitions were dashed for a second time when Donald J. Trump defeated her. In 2008, she lost the Democratic nomination to Barack Obama.

What is it about Florida governors slipping in the polls? Jeb Bush entered the 2016 election cycle with even higher expectations than Ron DeSantis. As the former governor of the swing state, brother of one U.S. president and the son of another, he was regarded as a G.O.P. front-runner. But then perception met reality — television, that is — also in the form of Mr. Trump.

The Democratic vice-presidential nominee in 2004 and a one-time senator from North Carolina, John Edwards had appeared to be on the rise. His focus on ending poverty and his charisma even drew comparisons with titans in the party. But then his extramarital affair with a campaign videographer, with whom he fathered a child, doomed his 2008 presidential bid.

There was a time early in the 2012 election cycle when Tim Pawlenty, the former Minnesota governor, was viewed by some as a front-runner for the G.O.P. presidential nomination. A social conservative who had a long career as a state legislator, he relished retail politics. But poor showings in debates and the Iowa Straw Poll hastened his exit from the race.

Read more reporting at nytimes.com/politics.

The Mini Crossword

1	2	3	4	5
6				
7				
8				■
9				■

10/9/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS

1 What connects these four: NIGHTLIFE, CARDS, GOLF, EXTRACURRICULARS?

6 Give money back to

7 Foreboding signs

8 Policy nerd

9 What connects these four: LOOSE, SPLIT, DEAD, BOOK?

DOWN

1 Director Cameron

2 Sour fruit

3 Flip over

4 What connects these four: FINANCE, SNOW, RIVERS, "AMERICA'S NEXT TOP MODEL"?

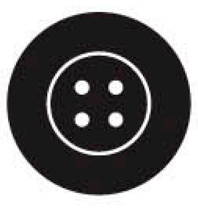
5 Method: Abbr.

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

A	R	M	■	■
R	O	O	T	S
C	L	O	U	T
H	E	N	N	A
■	■	S	A	Y

Here to Help

Vanessa Friedman Answers Your Style Questions



As a 20-something woman who considers herself a feminist, I can't help but wonder how my fashion choices contribute to beauty standards for women. Putting on a cute outfit or bright lipstick seems harmless, but what about foundation, contour and shapewear? By choosing to wear items that conceal my flaws, am I upholding the unrealistic expectation that every woman has to look flawless in order to be considered beautiful? — MAYA, SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

This is a complicated question, but for me, feminism is largely about choice: the power for women to make choices over their lives, bodies and future. And to decide who they want to be and how they want to look to communicate that identity to the world.

Fashion thus becomes a tool of feminism, because it is one of the prime means we have of self-expression. And I am not talking about Maria Grazia Chiuri's famous (and famously silly) Dior T-shirt blaring the Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie quote, "We Should All Be Feminists."

I am talking about the fact that if wearing a certain outfit, even if it is classically "feminine" (pink, flowery, frilly), or if using makeup is your choice, rather than someone else's choice that had been imposed upon you, it can be a feminist act.

The important thing is that you make that decision to please yourself rather than social convention. That you think about *why* you want to wear a garment, or red lipstick, instead of just putting it on: Is it about concealing your flaws or making you feel confident enough to face the world? Those impulses may sound similar, but between the two is an ocean of difference.

When people tell me that they never think about fashion, they say that because they worry that thinking about clothes or makeup makes them appear frivolous. But not thinking about these two subjects — why you make the choices you do — is actually ceding agency to often outdated strictures. That is the truly nonfeminist act.

Gloria Steinem told Lena Dunham that her signature look — jeans, belted at the hip, a turtleneck and a pendant — was her "power outfit." Alicia Keys said she felt empowered when she decided to go barefaced. When Michelle Obama became first lady and chose not to wear brightly colored skirt-suits, often opting instead for A-line dresses, she was making a statement. She essentially reclaimed those silhouettes, often associated with 1950s housewives, and gave them new context.

The point is that there's no blanket rule to follow, other than your own gut. Well, except for one: Whatever you choose, it should not cause pain or limit you in any way. But ultimately, the more individual we look, the more options available to everyone for how they choose to engage with the world, the more liberated we all will be.

So the question for you is, "Do your choices make you feel strong and like the best versions of you?" Because in those feelings, real beauty lies.

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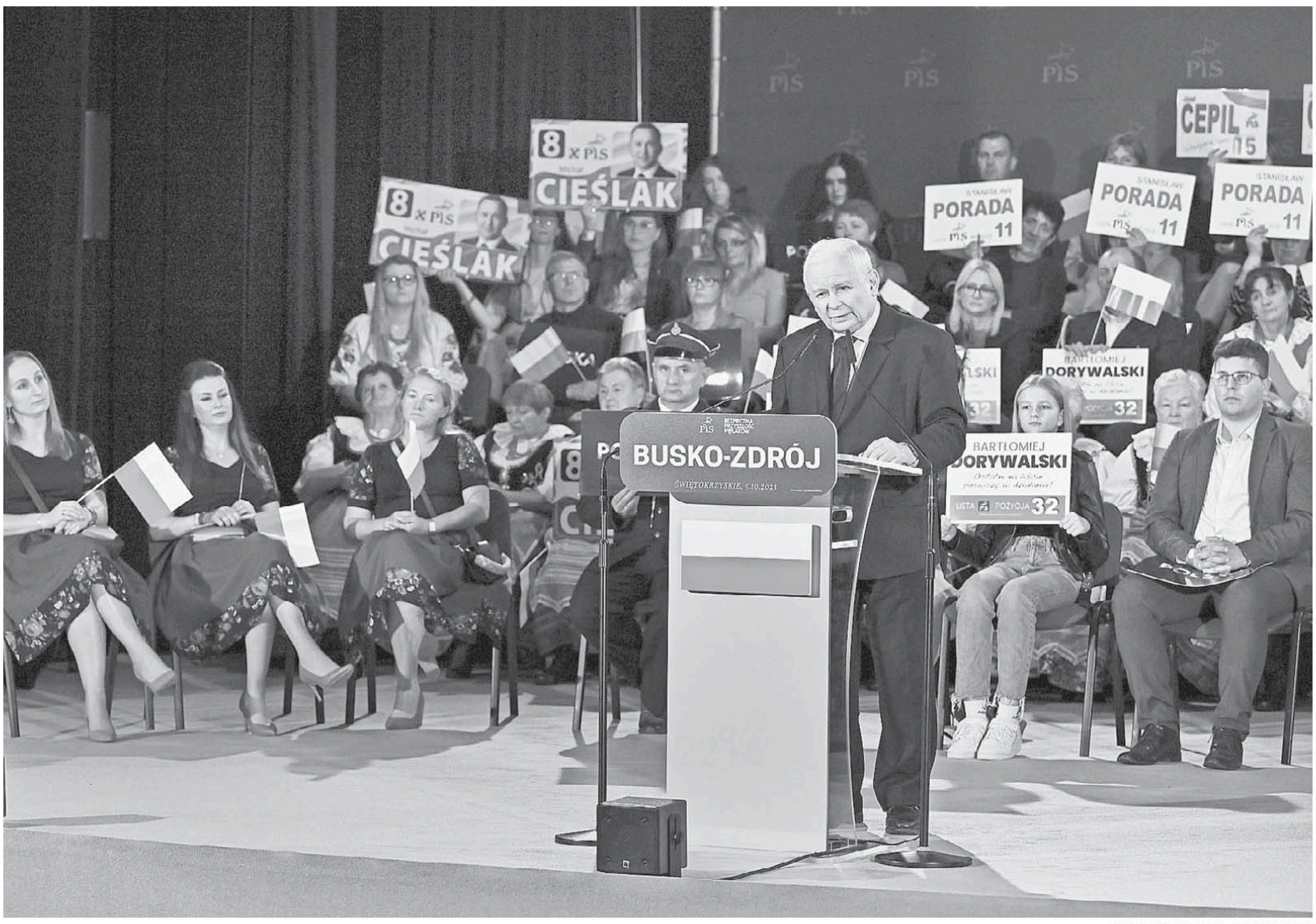
ANNA LIMINOWICZ FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Calls for Germany to pay Poland $1.3 trillion in reparations first surfaced several years ago, but they have flared as members of the ruling party, center, look for ways to secure a third consecutive term.

As Tough Election Looms, Poland Targets Old Boogeyman: Nazis

To Rally Its Supporters, Governing Party Seeks German Reparations

By ANDREW HIGGINS



PIOTR POLAK/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the chairman of the Polish governing party, Law and Justice, has an "obsession" with Germany and has pushed elaborate conspiracies.

WARSAW — Amid rising alarm this summer in Poland and the Baltic States over a possible military attack from the east, the Polish Embassy in Lithuania requested an urgent meeting with the head of Germany's diplomatic mission. Polish embassies in other European countries made similar requests.

What the Polish diplomats wanted to talk about, however, was not the risk of an assault from Belarus or the war in Ukraine, but a less pressing matter: a demand that Germany cough up more than a trillion dollars to cover damage done by the Nazis during World War II.

The issue of reparations, which was settled decades ago, is a personal fixation of Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the chairman of the Polish governing party, Law and Justice. Last weekend, rallying supporters ahead of a critical general election next Sunday, he told a party convention that it was not only about the money, but also a "matter of dignity."

Demands that Germany pay Poland $1.3 trillion — the exact figure keeps changing — first surfaced several years ago, but they have flared with new intensity as Mr. Kaczynski looks for ways to secure his party a third consecutive term. Attacking Germany and its supposed hold on the leader of the opposition has become his main tool for mobilizing voters.

Recent opinion polls put Law and Justice slightly ahead of its main rival, Civic Coalition, which groups center-right forces and progressives upset by the current government's hard lines against abortion and minority rights. But neither of the front-runners is likely to win enough seats in Parliament to form a government on its own. Which side can do that will depend on the performances of smaller parties, including a far-right outfit opposed to helping Ukraine and a leftist coalition.

Law and Justice's use of Germany to rile up its nationalist base in a tight race reflects the extraordinary behind-the-scenes influence of Mr. Kaczynski, 74. He dictates Polish policy on most matters of state even though he holds only one government post, deputy prime minister, a position that he assumed in June and that carries little formal power.

"He always had an obsession about Germany," said Radoslaw Sikorski, who served as defense minister in an earlier government headed by Mr. Kaczynski. "There is no chance of getting any money, but this is a good way to excite voters," he added.

Mr. Kaczynski "is a virtuoso at playing on fear, on what is worst in us as a nation," Mr. Sikorski said.

The influence of Mr. Kaczynski is so great that "he is No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3 in this country," said Bartlomiej Rajchert, a political strategist who worked closely with Law and Justice on its successful 2005 presidential election campaign for Mr. Kaczynski's twin brother, Lech Kaczynski, who died in a plane crash in 2010.

The office of Mr. Rajchert's consulting company, GDS, is next to Mr. Kaczynski's on the second floor of a dingy, Communist-era building in the center of Warsaw that also houses Law and Justice headquarters. When Mr. Kaczynski is in town, Mr. Rajchert said, Poland's prime minister, Mateusz Morawiecki, regularly visits him, as do other key government officials, apparently to receive instructions.

"This is where important decisions get taken," Mr. Rajchert said, pointing to Mr. Kaczynski's office next door.

Stanislaw Kostrzewski, Law and Justice's longtime former treasurer, described Mr. Kaczynski as "a highly intelligent person" who "obviously doesn't believe" the elaborate conspiracy theories featuring Germany that are being pumped out ahead of Election Day by a state broadcasting system controlled by the governing party.

"It is all such nonsense, but it works," Mr. Kostrzewski said. "I feel bad as a Pole because of the stupidity of my nation."

Bashing Germans not only stokes grievances left by World War II, when Poland lost around six million people, but also helps turn boring political arguments over taxation rates and the age of retirement, currently 65, into an exciting moral drama.

In that telling, Law and Justice's main opponent, the Civic Coalition's leader, Donald Tusk, a former prime minister, figures as a German lap dog who, in Mr. Kaczynski's description, is the "personification of pure evil" who must be "morally exterminated."

Mr. Tusk, according to Mr. Kaczynski, is a national traitor intent on selling his country out to German — and also Russian — interests.

Mr. Kaczynski recently starred in an anti-German election ad on television that features him taking a phone call from a Polish-speaking man with a comically thick German accent playing Berlin's ambassador in Warsaw.

The ambassador, with Wagner's "Flight of the Valkyries" blaring in the background, informs Mr. Kaczynski imperiously that the German chancellor wants him to raise Poland's retirement age back to what it was — 67 — when Mr. Tusk was Poland's prime minister from 2007 to 2014. Mr. Kaczynski sternly tells the ambassador that Warsaw no longer takes orders from Berlin. "Mr. Tusk is no longer here and these customs are gone," he says.

Casting Germany as a malevolent force in cahoots with Mr. Tusk helps justify the governing party's long-running feuds over the rule of law and other issues with the European Union, which Mr. Kaczynski has described as a German-led "Fourth Reich." Before returning to Polish politics in 2019, Mr. Tusk served as president of the European Council, the European bloc's principal power center.

Mr. Kostrzewski, the former party treasurer, said that Mr. Kaczynski had never cared about money or luxury — his car is a humble Skoda — and that his only real passion had always been politics, which took on a cold, deeply cynical edge after his brother's death.

Left alone in command of Law and Justice and free of his brother's moderating influence, Mr. Kaczynski, Mr. Kostrzewski said, stacked the party and the government it formed after winning a 2015 election with "people who only tell him what he wants to hear" and who serve his "Machiavellian vision of executing power."

For Wladyslaw Bartoszewski — an opposition member of Parliament and deputy chairman of the legislature's foreign affairs committee, whose father was an Auschwitz survivor and Poland's foreign minister after the end of Communist rule — Law and Justice's crude pre-election antics mean that "we have no foreign policy anymore, only foreign affairs for domestic use."

Mr. Kaczynski, he said, "thinks that whatever damage he does by being fanatically anti-German does not matter so long as it helps mobilize core voters."

For weeks now, state television has peppered news broadcasts with a recording of two single words — "für Deutschland" or "for Germany" — uttered by Mr. Tusk during a 2021 speech in German that thanked Germany's Christian Democratic Union party for its role in healing Europe's divisions at the end of the Cold War.

The two words — a tiny and misleading fragment of what Mr. Tusk said — have become Exhibit A in Law and Justice's case against the opposition leader as a German stooge.

Aimed at rallying a party base that is mostly older, rural and often resentful of foreigners, the barrage of anti-German messaging has stunned and appalled Germans invested in postwar reconciliation and Poles who want to see their country as a serious player.

At a security conference this past week in Warsaw — an event that was meant to spotlight Poland as Europe's "new center of gravity" because of the war in Ukraine — politicians and experts from Poland and Germany bewailed the damage done to Poland's image and European solidarity by Law and Justice's pre-election stunts.

In an interview, Knut Abraham, a member of the German Parliament and a former diplomat in Warsaw, described Law and Justice's demonization of Germany and Mr. Tusk as "not only nonsense, but insane," accusing the Polish governing party of shredding hard-won postwar reconciliation for electoral gain.

Last year, Mr. Abraham accompanied the leader of Germany's center-right Christian Democratic Union to Mr. Kaczynski's office in Warsaw. The Polish party leader, he recalled, was civil, even charming, but peppered the conversation with historical references to slights against Poland. He is a "hard-core Polish nationalist" with a keen eye for political advantage, Mr. Abraham said.

And no issue is easier to exploit at election time than the wounds of World War II, in which Polish suffering, in the view of many Poles, has been often ignored by outsiders focused on the Holocaust, a big part of which took place in Nazi death camps in German-occupied Poland.

Pawel Poncyliusz, who served as Mr. Kaczynski's press officer before jumping to the opposition, said his former boss had a genuine interest in history but had harnessed the horrors endured by Poland in the past to serve his political ambitions.

A lifelong bachelor who lives alone in the same modest Warsaw house he shared with his mother until her death a decade ago, Mr. Kaczynski, he said, "does not need women, money or holidays in Asia" but desperately needs to win and hold power.

"In his head, he has unified himself with Poland," Mr. Poncyliusz added. "Everything that is good for him is good for Poland. Everything that is against him is against Poland."

WOJTEK RADWANSKI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Donald Tusk, Polish opposition leader, has been accused by Mr. Kaczynski of pushing German and Russian interests.

Anatol Magdziarz contributed reporting from Warsaw, and Tomas Dapkus from Vilnius, Lithuania.

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Israel and Hamas Battle in Gaza as Netanyahu Warns of a Long War

By ISABEL KERSHNER and PATRICK KINGSLEY

SAMAR ABU ELOUF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Gaza bank was bombed on Sunday. The Israeli government on Saturday night cut off its electricity supply for Gaza, which relies on Israel for two-thirds of its power.

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SAMAR ABU ELOUF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A resident of the Israeli city of Sderot took cover by his car as rockets flew. Right, an injured woman with her child after an attack near her house in Gaza on Sunday.

JERUSALEM — Israeli troops fought to expel Palestinian militants from Israeli territory for a second day on Sunday, battling in firefights between homes, ducking under rocket fire and striking Gazan cities from the sky in retaliation for the militants' assault, which officials described as the worst attack on Israel in decades.

By evening on Sunday, the estimated death toll hovered around 1,100 people killed in 36 hours — though the number was clouded by the continued fighting and the uncertain fate of many Israelis and Palestinians in embattled areas. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu warned Israelis to brace themselves for the days ahead.

"We are embarking on a long and difficult war that was forced on us by a murderous Hamas attack," he said in a statement, referring to the militant group that controls the Gaza Strip. He added that Israel's military had "begun the offensive phase, which will continue with neither limitations nor respite until the objectives are achieved."

Israeli tanks could be seen crossing farmland in parts of southern Israel, heading south toward Gaza, and the military ordered an evacuation of civilians from 24 villages near the Gaza border, a possible prelude to a ground assault. Israeli warplanes also struck Gazan cities in response for the attack on Saturday, in which militants infiltrated more than 20 Israeli towns and army bases, opening fire on soldiers and civilians and taking some hostage.

Israel's Foreign Ministry said on social media that 700 Israelis had been killed, and a senior defense Israeli defense official said an early assessment showed that at least 150 people have been taken hostage by Palestinian militants. At least 413 Palestinians have been killed, according to the Gaza Health Ministry.

The U.S. secretary of state, Antony J. Blinken, compared the attack by Hamas to the Yom Kippur War of 1973, a 19-day battle set off by an Egyptian and Syrian invasion that caught Israel off guard. But "the magnitude, the scale of what Hamas did here is something we haven't seen before," Mr. Blinken added, in an interview with CBS News.

The White House also promised military assistance to Israel, and President Biden spoke with Mr. Netanyahu in a call on Sunday, White House officials said. In the call, Mr. Biden "discussed the taking of hostages by Hamas terrorists, including entire families, the elderly and young children," according to the White House.

It was unclear whether any Americans were among those abducted. A National Security Council spokesperson said "several" U.S. citizens had been killed in the fighting.

The Biden administration has condemned Hamas, which the United States classifies as a terrorist organization, and restated its commitment to normalizing ties between Israel and Arab nations in the region — a campaign that the violence threatens to upend.

Two of Israel's neighbors, Egypt and Jordan, joined calls to de-escalate the conflict. But in Lebanon, Hezbollah, the Shiite militant organization that fought a war with Israel in 2006, said on Sunday that it had attacked three Israeli posts with artillery shells and guided missiles in the Shebaa Farms area.

The Israeli military responded with artillery fire and a drone strike, and U.N. peacekeeping forces said on Sunday that the situation at the border was "volatile but stable" after the exchange.

On Sunday, some witnesses to the initial Hamas attack near Gaza began to tell harrowing accounts, including how, in some cases, they learned of the invasion by seeing or hearing gunmen just outside their homes. Many would learn only later that militants were also taking Israeli soldiers and civilians as hostages.

"There were terrorists inside the kibbutz, inside our neighborhood and — at some point — outside our window," Amir Tibon, 35, recalled in a phone interview after his escape from a village just a few hundred yards from the Gaza Strip. "We could hear them talk. We could hear them run. We could hear them shooting their guns at our house, at our windows."

Other Israelis described an all-out attack on a music festival a few miles from the border with Gaza. "Smoke and flames and gunfire," said Andrey Peairie, a 35-year-old resident of Kiryat Gat. "I have a military background, but I never was in a situation like this."

On Sunday, many Israelis remained missing, and some were believed to be among the soldiers and civilians who have been taken into captivity. Video verified by The New York Times appears to show several Israelis being taken hostage by Hamas militants in the Be'eri kibbutz, just under three miles from the border.

The kidnappings could complicate any Israeli retaliatory response, and on Saturday night the Israeli government moved to increase pressure on Gaza beyond military force. It cut off its electricity supply for Gaza, a densely populated and impoverished territory that relies on Israel for two-thirds of its power.

Mr. Netanyahu also urged Palestinians on Saturday night to leave any place in the Gaza Strip where militants might be hiding or operating, in anticipation of a major Israeli retaliation. But some residents said there was nowhere to run or hide on the territory, which has been under a suffocating 16-year blockade imposed by Israel.

"Where are we going to go?" said Ziad al-Saad, 63, adding that he and his family, including young grandchildren, had stayed inside all night as the walls shuddered with Israeli strikes. "There are no shelters, no nothing. We are a tiny strip of land, and it can barely hold all the people here."

If the situation worsened, he said, the family might at least take the children to the hospital for safety, in the hopes that it would be less likely to be attacked.

"The sea is behind us and the enemy is in front of us," he said.

Isabel Kershner reported from Jerusalem, and Patrick Kingsley from Beersheba, Israel. Reporting was contributed by Gabby Sobelman, Myra Noveck, Ronen Bergman, Hiba Yazbek, Raja Abdulrahim, Aaron Boxerman, Edward Wong, Michael D. Shear and Ameera Harouda.

After Intelligence Failures, Israel Fights Back

From Page A1

Corps general and former top American commander in the Middle East. "It can only be re-established with the application of overwhelming, shocking violence. And it is only getting started."

But as Mr. Netanyahu's government retaliates, and deals with the reality that Hamas has taken scores of Israeli hostages, the question of what went wrong will go down in history alongside other such failures. The most famous one in Israeli history was 50 years ago this week, during the Yom Kippur War. Others likened the surprise to the Tet offensive of the Vietnam War or even the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.

Past rocket barrages by Hamas have been blunted in part by the Iron Dome. But on Saturday the system appeared overwhelmed. Hamas was able to fire hundreds of missiles in rapid succession, potentially more than the system's interceptors could handle. The Iron Dome is designed to protect population centers and does not shoot if it determines an incoming missile or rocket will land harmlessly. But it has a limited number of Tamir interceptors, and reloading the system can take time. Hamas, one former administration official said, appeared to have studied the system's vulnerabilities.

But the system has dealt effectively with large barrages before, former officials said, suggesting that new weapons fired by Hamas for the first time Saturday could be harder to intercept and may have also played a role. Hamas used a new missile system known as Rajum during the attack, and also employed small drones that dropped munitions on Israeli military positions, according to Janes, a defense and open-source intelligence firm.

On Saturday, Hamas fired a wide variety of rocket and missile systems, both the new ones and older models. But almost all of its rockets and missiles are Iranian-designed weapons that are smuggled into Gaza as components, then assembled covertly.

Both Israel and Egypt try to monitor efforts to smuggle components, many originally from Iran, through the Sinai Peninsula and into Gaza through underground tunnels, according to former U.S. intelligence officials. In 2021, Israel reported destroying 62 miles of underground tunnels, and built underground barriers 65 yards deep. Egypt has also worked to seal tunnels between Gaza and the peninsula.

But no barrier is perfect. And, in addition to underground and sea routes, missile and rocket components are smuggled through the legal crossings, the former officials said.

Israel has typically used extensive human networks in Gaza and intercepts of electronic communications to generate warnings of potential attacks, according to former American officials. The fact that Israeli intelligence was caught off guard by the strikes suggests that before Saturday's attacks, Hamas fighters avoided discussing the plans over mobile phones or other means of communications that could be intercepted.

Hamas likely used old-school face-to-face planning to avoid Israeli detection. But hundreds of people must have been involved, demonstrating that Hamas's efforts to break Israel's network of informants have been successful, according to the former officials.

Though it is shocking that Israel missed the preparations for the attack, said Beth Sanner, a former senior American intelligence official, she added that few spy agencies are as good at learning from their mistakes as Israel's.

"Because intelligence collection is a human endeavor, failure is inevitable," she said. "Unfortunately it has happened at the most consequential time, when they are facing the most consequential threat in a half a century."

In retrospect, some believe the Israelis made erroneous assumptions about the nature of the threat from Hamas. "What people don't understand is that while Hamas was treated as a terrorist organization, there were decisions made by Israel to make life easier for Gazans," said Thomas Nides, the former American ambassador to Israel, who left Jerusalem this summer. "They issued 15,000 work permits, for workers in Gaza who came into Israel each day, and I believe there was a view that Hamas would not screw that up."

"Which clearly was wrong," Mr. Nides added.

Gaza has been under an Israeli blockade, backed by Egypt, since Hamas seized control of the coastal strip in 2007. The blockade restricts the import of goods, including electronic and computer equipment, that could be used to make weapons and prevents most people from leaving the territory. Tensions between Israelis and Palestinians have also been surging for months, as have warnings of the risk of all-out war.

Most of the recent focus has been on the occupied West Bank, where recurring Israeli military operations have sparked frequent gun battles with Palestinian militants. Israel and Palestinian militants in the Gaza Strip have also fought smaller tit-for-tat engagements.

And American intelligence officials were clearly worried that trouble was brewing.

This spring, William J. Burns, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, warned that tensions between Israelis and Palestinians were threatening to bubble over again, despite the diplomatic progress in the region.

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Israeli soldiers near Sderot, Israel, on Sunday. Tensions between Israelis and Palestinians have been surging for months.

But Israel appeared more focused on the West Bank as a potential source of an attack, rather than Gaza.

Experts cautioned that there was still much to learn about what precisely Israeli intelligence knew, and what warning signs were missed. And the same question can be asked about Egypt and other Arab governments that have no love for Hamas, and often quietly share intelligence with Israel.

"While overall this is an intelligence failure, just how and in what way remains to be seen," said Lewis Smart, the lead Middle East analyst with Janes, the defense intelligence firm.

A key question American intelligence agencies were wrestling with over the weekend was the involvement of Iran in supplying Hamas and encouraging or even planning the attack. It is plausible that Iran could have played a role, American officials said, but that exact role is not yet clear.

For Iran, its alliance with Hamas is a key point of leverage. Tehran, according to current and former officials, wants to derail the emerging peace between Saudi Arabia and Israel. Any war between Israel and Hamas that causes significant civilian casualties on both sides would make any such public peace incredibly difficult.

"You have to ask yourself who benefits from this," said General McKenzie. "Well Iran does because it pushes a wedge between Israel and the Saudis."

Turmoil in the Middle East

NEWS ANALYSIS

'Shaken to the Core,' Israelis Have Questions

From Page A1

creation the government has failed in its principal responsibility: the protection of the lives of its citizens."

As with the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War, disbelief has mingled with anger at a colossal intelligence failure.

In 1973, the assumption was that after Israel's lightning victory in the 1967 Six-Day War, Syria and Egypt were spent forces. Today, the belief had grown that Hamas was uninterested in large-scale violence and that it could even be a useful vehicle for weakening the more moderate Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, thus burying talk of a Palestinian state.

"The fact that we were allowing the most extreme Palestinian elements to grow stronger was overlooked, and Israel was revealed as totally unprepared, strategically and operationally," said Shlomo Avineri, a political scientist in Jerusalem.

A page has been turned, whatever the outcome of the war that has just begun. Israel has not, after all, moved beyond the conflict that has haunted it since the creation of the modern state in 1948: the claims of two peoples, Jewish and Palestinian, to the same narrow strip of land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River.

Its wealth, vibrant start-up culture and increasing acceptance in the Middle East could not forever mask a fundamental Israeli instability. Now the shock to its self-image is so great that, after the initial rallying to the flag, Israel could be projected into a period of profound social and political turbulence.

Certainly, heady talk of a transformative normalization deal between Saudi Arabia and Israel, brokered by the Biden administration, seems optimistic as a result of the Hamas attack.

This blow to Israel comes at a time of deep internal unease. Dismay that the Israel Defense Forces, the revered institution at the core of the nation's security, could allow such a multipronged Palestinian assault to happen — and then appear slow to react — has been compounded by a widespread sense that the government of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was fatally distracted.

Its focus on a fiercely contested judicial overhaul that would weaken the independence of the judiciary, and so compromise democratic checks and balances, appeared to reduce the situation in Gaza to a low priority.

Such were the Israeli protests against the government program that the military had to deal with more than 10,000 reservists threatening to refuse service, a major distraction. There have been no such threats since the Hamas attack. Distracting, too, were the wild settler projects in the West Bank backed by hard-right government ministers.

"The government was fixated with a plan that had nothing to do with national security," Mr. Shany said. "There is a clear link between that and the dismal Israeli performance. It does not look good for Mr. Netanyahu."

The Yom Kippur war, an equally profound psychological shock for Israel, did not immediately turn national politics on its head. But within four years, in 1977, the Labor government that had run Israel since its foundation was defeated, a right-wing Likud government took power with a landslide victory, and Labor has scarcely recovered in the almost five decades since.

Certainly, Mr. Netanyahu's right-wing government appears to be in a deep hole, facing agonizing decisions over how sweeping the Israeli retaliation in Gaza should be. Gaza, controlled by Hamas, which the United States identifies as a terrorist organization, has long seethed in an overcrowded state of poverty and resentment, under a 16-year Israeli blockade.

For many years the assumption had grown within Israel that the Palestinian question had become a nonissue and that a policy of tactical procrastination, as Israeli settlements in the West Bank grew ever larger, would ensure that no Palestinian state ever came into being.

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Israeli military vehicles heading to the border with Gaza near Sderot, Israel, on Sunday. The attack came amid deep internal unease.

The conflict became "the situation," a bland term expressing a combustible status quo. Mr. Netanyahu emerged as the champion of a kick-the-can-down-the-road approach that left the two-state idea on life support. Israel normalized relations with several smaller Arab states. The Palestinian issue all but disappeared from the global agenda. There was talk of a new Middle East.

All this, however, could not hide the elephant in the room: the growing Palestinian fury at humiliation and marginalization that had already led to a spike in West Bank violence this year.

The status quo was never really that. It incubated bloodshed by institutionalizing the steady advance of Israeli control over the more than 2.6 million Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Israel's stranglehold on encircled Gaza, where another estimated 2.1 million Palestinians live.

"If there is one lesson of this," said Diana Buttu, a Palestinian lawyer living in Haifa, "it is not that this was a security failure. It was a failure on the part of the world to address the conflict. Every day is violent. We wake up to violence. We go to bed to violence against Palestinians."

The Palestinian Israelis, often referred to as Israeli Arabs, who make up more than 20 percent of the Israeli population, were astonished at what had happened and worried about the future, she said, but there was also "a sense of pride that the people most besieged managed to break through," mixed with discomfort and unease at Hamas's brutality against civilians.

"We are torn," said Reem Younis, a Palestinian entrepreneur with a high-tech neuroscience business in Nazareth. "And now we don't know what to expect and are frightened."

In a recorded message, Muhammad Deif, the leader of Hamas's military wing, described the objective of the "operation" as ensuring that "the enemy will understand that the time of their rampaging without accountability has ended." The statement was clearly intended to rouse Palestinians from their acquiescence to powerlessness in Gaza and the West Bank.

But the cost for both sides could be very high. The operation showed the world that, as Mr. Avineri put it, "Every Israeli Jew is, for Hamas, a legitimate target for killing." That will not help the broader Palestinian cause with Western governments.

Mr. Netanyahu has promised a "long and difficult war" now entering an "offensive phase, which will continue with neither limitations nor respite until the objectives are achieved." Already more than 400 Palestinians have been killed.

The temptation is clearly strong for an overwhelming Israeli offensive to make sure Hamas is never again able to mount such an operation. A model could be the massive 2006 offensive in southern Lebanon; since then the border has been relatively quiet, although Hezbollah fired artillery shells Sunday on three Israeli posts in the contested Shebaa Farms area.

But in Gaza, the presence of perhaps dozens of Israeli hostages seized by Hamas is a deeply complicating factor. Israel does not abandon its own. Executions of hostages in response to an Israeli assault would become an explosive domestic political issue. After what looks like a serious blunder, Mr. Netanyahu faces one of his most delicate challenges.

"Issues of international law are certain to arise, around proportionality and collateral damage," Mr. Shany said about the looming Israeli offensive, referring to legal restraints on the use of military force. "But the political interest in restraint is very limited. This will be a serious test for Israel."

The longer-term test has been clear for some time. It was summed up years ago by Danny Yatom, the director of Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency, between 1996 and 1998. A single Israeli state between the sea and Jordan, encompassing the West Bank "will deteriorate into either an apartheid state or a non-Jewish state," Mr. Yatom said. "If we continue to rule the territories, I see that as an existential danger."

Mr. Netanyahu never wanted to listen to such warnings or engage in serious talks for a two-state peace. The consequences of that policy could not forever be waved away in talk of a shiny new Middle East.

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Learn more at BewareofRSV.com
Pfizer

Turmoil in the Middle East

At a Dance and a Kibbutz, Attackers Slipped In and Unleashed Horror

From Page A1

very different about this attack.

The sound of gunfire.

Then came a morbid realization.

"There were terrorists inside the kibbutz, inside our neighborhood and — at some point — outside our window," Mr. Tibon recalled. "We could hear them talk. We could hear them run. We could hear them shooting their guns at our house, at our windows."

On the village WhatsApp group, neighbors were posting frantic messages. "People were saying, 'They are in my house, they are trying to break into the safe room!'" recalled Mr. Tibon, a journalist for Haaretz, one of the country's most prominent news outlets.

Messages from fellow reporters revealed even more terrifying news. They said that Hamas, the militant group that controls Gaza, had infiltrated scores of Israeli border towns, and that it would take time for the Israeli Army to reach the village.

Not long afterward, Mr. Tibon's cell reception started to break up.

Thirteen miles to the east, deep inside Israeli territory, Meitav Hadad and her brother Itamar had no idea that Israel had been invaded.

The siblings had switched their phones off for the Jewish Sabbath.

Suddenly, shots rang out in their neighborhood of Ofakim, a city of 33,000 residents in southern Israel.

Mr. Hadad, 22, an off-duty soldier, grabbed his rifle and rushed into the street. Ms. Hadad, 18, a student at a religious seminary, followed him.

They expected perhaps a single shooter, the kind of lone-wolf attacker that frequently targets Israeli civilians, Ms. Hadad said.

But what they found was far more shocking: A squad of Palestinian militants, armed with rifles

'We could hear them shooting their guns at our house.'

AMIR TIBON, who hid with his family in Kibbutz Nahal Oz.

and a shoulder-borne rocket launcher, had infiltrated their quiet neighborhood miles from the border with Gaza.

"We didn't understand what was happening," Ms. Hadad said.

Terrified, she hid in a playground.

But her brother pressed on, joining forces with two other armed residents, cellphone video showed. He began firing on the militants, hitting two, before his gun jammed, forcing him to take cover, he said.

As he retreated, the militants shot him three times — once in the liver, once in the leg and the third time in the back.

He was losing blood fast, with nowhere to hide.

Desperate for shelter, he began hobbling from house to house, trying to persuade residents to take him inside, Mr. Hadad said. No one dared to open up, fearing he was a Palestinian fighter.

To make himself seem less menacing, he stashed his gun in a fuse box. Finally, a couple opened their door and hurried him inside. The three of them stanched his bleeding by tearing up his jeans and using them as a tourniquet, his sister said.

As Israeli security forces began to retake control of the town, two police officers arrived to take Mr. Hadad to hospital. They heaved him back to the street, flagging down a passing car.

By coincidence, it was Mr. Hadad's mother, Tali. After he had failed to return home, the elder Ms. Hadad had broken her observance of the Sabbath and borrowed a neighbor's car to search for her son. Now, she was there to rescue him.

Fifty miles to the north, Mr. Tibon's parents, Noam and Gali Tibon, also set out to rescue their family — leaving their home in Tel Aviv, jumping into their jeep and heading south. Destination: Kibbutz Nahal Oz.

The couple had just a single pistol to protect them, Noam Tibon said. But they were not going to stand by while their family was in danger.

"We understood that if we will not go and get them, nobody will," said Noam Tibon, a retired general. "If there are so many terrorists inside Nahal Oz, something has collapsed."

As they drove south, the couple began to encounter police roadblocks, where officers ordered them to turn around.

"We said, 'Listen, we have kids and grandkids in danger,'" Noam Tibon said. "And we just pushed forward."

As they neared the Gaza border, they began to encounter people fleeing the rave, sprinting down the road, blood staining their clothes. The couple gave them a lift to a nearby city. The roadside and nearby farmland were strewn with dead bodies, Noam Tibon said.

A few miles from Kibbutz Nahal Oz, Noam left Ms. Tibon at a less dangerous location before traveling onward with a wounded soldier they had encountered on the road. But before they reached the village, they ran into a gunfight between Israeli soldiers and Palestinian militants. The two men jumped out and joined the fray.

Mr. Tibon said he then ferried two wounded Israelis to safety, handing them and his jeep over to his wife, a historian, who drove them north to the hospital.

Mr. Tibon headed south again, given a lift by a friend, another former general, whom he said he had run into by chance. On the outskirts of Kibbutz Nahal Oz, he said, they joined forces with an Israeli commando unit that was about to try to retake the village.

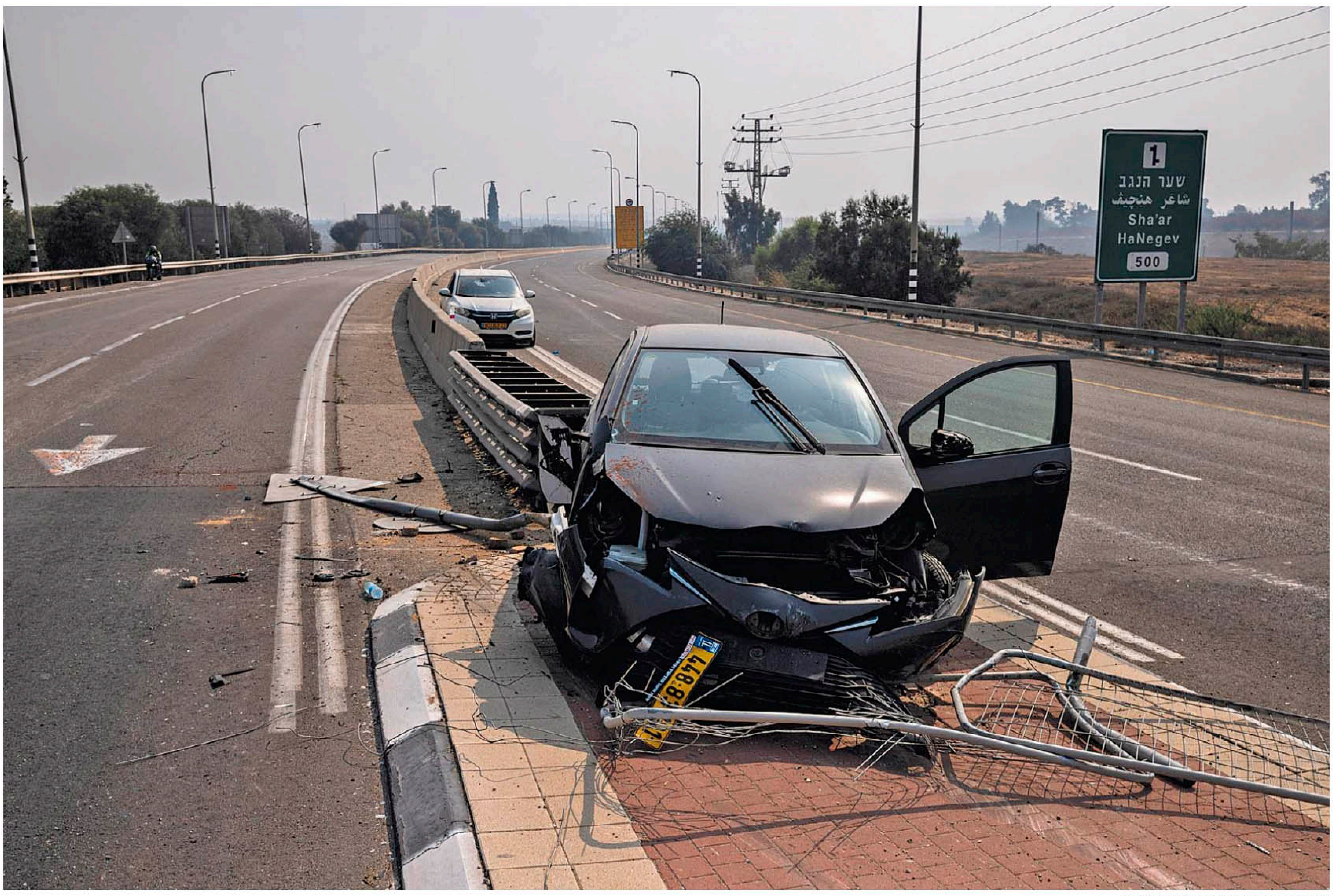
Heading inside, they found the streets strewn with bodies, some Palestinian and some Israeli, Noam Tibon said. Then they began clearing the village of militants, house by house.

Inside their safe room, Amir Tibon and his family could hear them coming.

An hour later, there was a bang on the wall of their bomb shelter, Amir Tibon said.

"And we heard my father say, 'I'm here.'"

Myra Noveck contributed reporting from Jerusalem; Hiba Yazbek from Nazareth, Israel; and Ronen Bergman from Ramat Hasharon, Israel.

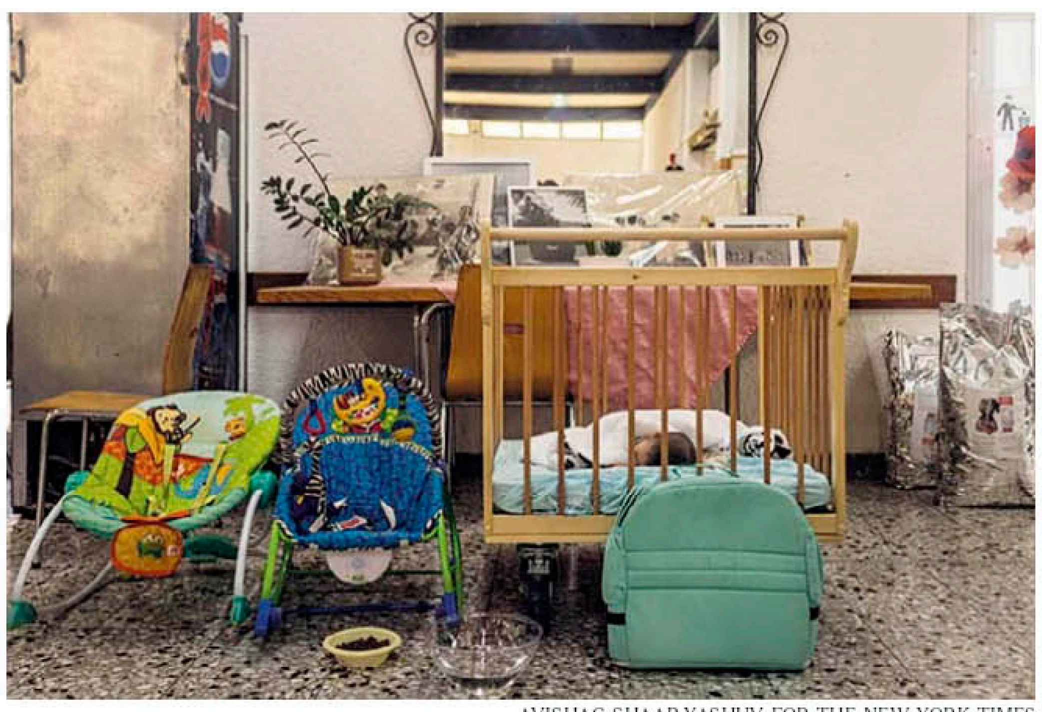


TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cars damaged in an attack by Palestinian gunmen on a road in Sderot, Israel, near the Gaza border, on Sunday. Scores of Israeli towns were infiltrated on Saturday.

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Tali Touito was overwhelmed with emotion at her home in Sderot on Sunday as she described how gunmen attacked and took over the police station on her street and the gunfight that followed.



AVISHAG SHAAR-YASHUV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

An infant sleeping in Kibbutz Mishmar HaNegev after being rescued with a family that had been hiding in Kibbutz Kfar.

Warned to Get Out of Gaza, But Having Nowhere to Go

By RAJA ABDULRAHIM

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel warned Palestinians on Saturday night to clear out of any place in the Gaza Strip where Palestinian fighters might be hiding or operating amid an ongoing onslaught of the blockaded coastal enclave.

But for the more than two million residents of the densely populated and impoverished territory where fighters live and operate among civilians, residents said there was nowhere to run or hide.

"All of the places which Hamas is deployed, hiding and operating in that wicked city, we will turn them into rubble," Mr. Netanyahu said in his statement, referring to the Palestinian militant group that controls Gaza. "I say to the residents of Gaza: Leave now because we will operate forcefully everywhere."

Israel's bombardment of Gaza followed a land, sea and air assault on Israel by Palestinians from Gaza on Saturday which killed about 600 Israelis, according to an initial assessment by officials. Israel responded with heavy strikes on Gaza that lasted throughout Sunday, killing dozens of Palestinians, according to the Gaza Health Ministry. The ministry said in total, at least 370 Palestinians had died, but that includes in large part the attackers who went into Israel.

A Gaza resident, Ziad al-Saad, 63, said he and his family, including young grandchildren, stayed inside all night as the walls shuddered with each strike.

"Where are we going to go?" he said, standing outside his damaged home near the al-Watan Tower, one of three Gaza City high-rise buildings that were destroyed by Israeli airstrikes on Saturday night. "There are no shelters, no nothing. We are a tiny strip of land and it can barely hold all the people here."

If the situation worsened — which he expected it to — he said they might have no choice but to take the children to the hospital for safety, assuming it was less likely to be attacked.

"The sea is behind us and the enemy is in front of us," he said.

The Gaza Strip has been under a 16-year blockade imposed by Israel, and supported by Egypt, limiting what can go in, including food and medicine, and preventing most residents from leaving.

Another Gaza resident, Rima al-Salaymeh, 53, said she hadn't heard Mr. Netanyahu's call on Saturday night because she didn't have electricity at home after Israel cut off power supplies to the territory. She said people weren't even daring to leave their homes under a constant Israeli bombardment of the territory throughout the night.

In some cases entire families were killed inside their homes, according to the Gaza Health Ministry. Hamas also launched further rocket attacks on Israel on Sunday.

"Everyone is sitting at home with their doors shut," said Ms. al-Salaymeh. "There are no cars moving in the streets. My daughters, I can't reach them and they can't reach me."

Shortly after Mr. Netanyahu issued his statement, at about 1 a.m. local time, the Israeli army sent text messages to Palestinian phones in Gaza warning those living in the northern region to leave their homes. But Gaza, unlike southern Israel, does not have designated bomb shelters.

"We try to get away from the airstrikes but then we have to come back," said one of Mr. al-Saad's neighbors, Izzeldeen al-Bawab, 21. "We have no chance to leave."

More than 20,000 Gazans were seeking shelter at dozens of schools across Gaza, according to the U.N. agency for Palestinian refugees, UNRWA. But nowhere in Gaza seemed safe. On Saturday, a hospital, an ambulance and a mosque were hit by Israeli strikes, according to Gazan authorities.

UNRWA said three schools that it runs were also damaged by Israeli strikes.

"The security situation is very difficult. Movement is almost nonexistent," said Raji Sourani, a lawyer with the Palestinian Center for Human Rights in Gaza.

SAMAR ABU ELOUF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Watan Tower, which contains offices and shops in the center of Gaza City, was destroyed by Israeli warplanes on Saturday night.

U.S. Military Aid on the Way To Israel, With More Coming

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

The United States is working to fulfill several specific requests from Israel for military assistance in the wake of the attack by Hamas on Saturday, Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken said on NBC's "Meet the Press" program on Sunday morning.

Mr. Blinken said that the Israeli government had "asked for some specific additional assistance" as the country gears up for what Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has warned will likely be a prolonged conflict.

Mr. Blinken declined to provide additional details about specific weapons systems that might be provided to Israel in the near future.

White House officials said President Biden told Mr. Netanyahu in a call on Sunday that military assistance is on its way to Israel and more will follow in the days ahead. In the latest call between the two leaders, Mr. Biden "discussed the taking of hostages by Hamas terrorists, including entire families, the elderly, and young children," according to a readout of the call by the White House.

"The president emphasized that there is no justification whatsoever for terrorism, and all countries must stand united in the face of such brutal atrocities," according to the White House.

The United States already provides Israel more than $3 billion in military assistance every year, and Mr. Blinken said that much of the equipment from that funding is already "in the pipeline" to be sent to Israel.

There are also six pre-positioned stockpiles of American ammunition and arms in locations throughout Israel, according to military officials, that are designated for use by Israel in case of an emergency or for a military operation in the area by the United States. The six stockpiles include a total of about $2 billion in material, and both countries would have to sign off on their use.

Officials for the National Security Council declined to say whether the use of those stockpiles is under consideration.

In the longer term, American lawmakers on both sides of the aisle said on Sunday that they hoped Republicans could resolve their leadership struggle and select a House speaker so that Congress can act on further funding for Israel if needed.

"Given the situation in the Middle East with one of our closest allies in the world, it is critical that we bring this to a close expeditiously," Representative Mike Lawler, Republican of New York, said on CNN's "State of the Union" program.

War in Ukraine

Graves were dug in the cemetery in Hroza, Ukraine, days after a Russian missile killed 53 people who had been gathered for a soldier's wake. Nearly everyone in the tightly knit hamlet lost relatives.

HROZA DISPATCH

'All My Relatives Are Dead': Grief and Fresh Graves in a Tiny Village

By ANDREW E. KRAMER and MARIA VARENIKOVA
Photographs by DAVID GUTTENFELDER

The coffins of a husband and wife, Mykola and Tetiana Androsovych, draped in green velvet, were lowered into graves on Saturday.

HROZA, Ukraine — Beside newly dug graves in a cemetery, villagers had propped cardboard signs on sticks.

"Taken," one sign said simply of an open grave.

"Taken, three people from the Mukhovaty" family, read another.

Days after a Ukrainian village lost a sixth of its population in a missile strike, nearly every resident was grieving lost relatives, houses were suddenly empty, the cemetery had been expanded and the villagers were left grappling with the challenge of burying a large portion of their community at once.

The missile struck on Thursday, hitting a wake being held in a cafe in the tiny farming village of Hroza, killing 52 people in one of the deadliest single missile strikes of the war. Ukrainian authorities said that a Russian Iskander ballistic missile had hit the building.

At the wake, families were mourning the death of a soldier, but most in attendance were civilians, among them three teachers, 18 residents of one street and nearly all of the members of the family of the soldier, who had died earlier in fighting at the front line.

"All my relatives are dead," said Yulia Hryb, a second cousin of the slain soldier's wife, who is a refugee living in Ireland.

Why the Russians seemingly targeted the cafe is unclear: Hroza is a tiny hamlet of 330 people, only a few blocks of homes in an expanse of wheat and sunflower fields in eastern Ukraine about 25 miles from the front lines. One theory was that the Russians expected that a lot of soldiers would attend the wake.

The first daunting task was to identify and bury the dead.

On Saturday, body bags were stacked in the hallways of a morgue about 50 miles away in Kharkiv, the nearest city, as the authorities set about identifying the bodies. Dr. Oleh Podorozhny, a chief examiner, said the missile strike was the largest mass casualty incident the morgue had handled.

Complicating the effort, many of the bodies had been mutilated in the powerful explosion, and emergency workers had packed some of the body bags with fragments of many different bodies.

In a parking lot behind the morgue, doctors had laid out a tarpaulin on which they were sorting the fragmented remains, amid a stench. A bare foot lay on the tarp.

People had died from shrapnel from the explosion, from flying shards of glass and shattered bricks and from the powerful blast wave, Dr. Podorozhny said.

"It's been almost two years of war, and we got used to it," he said. "But this was the worst I have seen."

Back in Hroza, as a rainstorm blew over Saturday afternoon, residents nailed particle board over windows blown out by the explosion and hung plastic sheeting over damaged roofs.

The blast killed the entire immediate family of the soldier whose wake had drawn the crowd, Andriy Kozyr, including his widow, daughter, son, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, mother-in-law and many other relatives.

Before Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine began in February 2022, Mr. Kozyr had lived with his family in Poland, where his wife managed a hotel and his son worked in construction. He and his son, Denys, returned to volunteer as soldiers in the Ukrainian Army, while his wife and daughter, Alina and Liza, remained abroad.

Mr. Kozyr was killed in fighting a year ago, when his village was under Russian occupation. After Ukraine retook Hroza, his family decided to rebury him in the cemetery there.

After the attack on Thursday, surviving neighbors and friends had wondered who would bury the Kozyr family, as all known members in the village had died. But Ms. Hryb, in a telephone interview, said she intended to return to Hroza, claim the bodies and bury them all in the village's cemetery.

In Ireland, she said, an acquaintance had shared with her a photograph from the scene of the strike, showing a hand of one of the deceased. She recognized it from the manicure as the hand of her second cousin, the widow of Mr. Kozyr, Ms. Hryb said. "I will identify them, I am coming, I will bury them," she said.

Local authorities who expanded the cemetery on Friday, by leveling an acre or so of land, had on Saturday dug a few dozen new graves. Several were reserved, via cardboard sign, for the Kozyr family members.

Oleksandr Soroka, a worker clearing ground for the graveyard's expansion, said that the village was close-knit, and that the survivors would care for one another.

"This village was very friendly," Mr. Soroka said. "They all married one another. They were all relatives." Most of the victims, he said, were women who had been working in the kitchen preparing dishes for the wake.

As the village mayor, Oleksandr Nechvelod, had died in the blast, a regional administrator of several villages, including Hroza, had stepped in to help organize the burials.

"We try to look after ourselves," said the administrator, Serhiy Starykov. "But how can we look after ourselves under these circumstances?"

He has arranged for a temporary village store to be set up in a shipping container, replacing the cafe and a shop that was also obliterated in the strike.

In the village, Mr. Starykov said, 10 homes are empty because all of their occupants died. Who will now care for the livestock or pets they left behind is uncertain, he said.

"Life goes on," Mr. Starykov said. "Those who remain will go on living. What else can they do? Unfortunately, we have war in our country."

Over the weekend, funerals, which seemed likely to stretch for some time given the difficulties in identifying the dead, were just beginning.

Under an overcast sky, as families gathered in the cemetery, a priest blessed the open graves and undertakers lowered two coffins, those of a husband and wife, draped in green velvet.

Mr. Starykov said he feared crowds gathering at the funerals might become yet another target for the Russians. Mourners nonetheless turned up, picking up handfuls of earth and dropping them onto the coffins.

From left, villagers in the cemetery; damage to a home in Hroza across the street from the site of the Russian missile strike; and Yuri, a villager sitting near the wreckage of the attack that killed his wife.

Entire Villages Razed as Death Toll Soars From Quakes in Afghanistan

This article is by ***Christina Goldbaum, Najim Rahim*** *and* ***Yaqoob Akbary****.*

MOHSEN KARIMI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

OMID HAQJOO/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Above, children in northwestern Afghanistan slept outside on Saturday after earthquakes destroyed homes in the area. Left, a search party looked for victims on Sunday in the rubble in Herat Province. More than 800 people were killed.

The death toll from two major earthquakes in northwestern Afghanistan rose to at least 813 people on Sunday, according to the local authorities, making the dual shocks one of the deadliest natural disasters to hit the country in decades.

The two earthquakes, both 6.3 magnitude, hit Herat Province, along the country's border with Iran, on Saturday, causing mudbrick homes in several districts to come crashing down and thousands of people in the province's capital city to rush out of their houses and office buildings as the ground shook beneath them. At least seven tremors followed the initial quakes.

In the areas hit hardest, some villages were destroyed, with the number of casualties expected to rise as search-and-rescue efforts continued, according to Taliban officials and local volunteers. Earlier on Sunday, officials had announced that around 2,000 people had been killed, but they later clarified that that figure included deaths and injuries, according to the Ministry of Disaster Management.

Wakil Safi, who was at home in the provincial capital, Herat City, on Saturday when the earthquakes struck, said he ran outside with his five children when the walls of his home began to tremble, but fell to the ground because of the intensity of the shaking.

"In my 41 years of life, I have never seen such a strong earthquake," Mr. Safi said. On Saturday night, he and his wife and children — like thousands of others in Herat City — slept outside in frigid temperatures, a blustering wind chilling them to the bone, for fear of additional aftershocks that could bring their homes crashing down. Between the cold and two tremors in the night, they barely slept, Mr. Safi added.

Aid workers who arrived on Sunday in the remote, badly hit areas found scenes of devastation: Homes had been reduced to rubble, and, in some cases, entire families had been killed. Hospitals and clinics — already teetering on the brink of collapse because of shortfalls in funding — were overwhelmed with hundreds of injured people.

In one video circulating on social media, a survivor of the earthquake in a remote village, Wardakha, stood on a pile of rubble that used to be his home. He explained that he was the only surviving member of his family after the quake — all 14 of his relatives, including his 5-day-old child, had been killed when their home collapsed.

"Oh, my God. Oh, God, please help me — what should I do?" he said. Then, gasping for breath, he sunk his hands into the dust that was once his home and cried.

The earthquakes were the latest natural disaster to rattle Afghanistan, which has endured enormous floods, mudslides and earthquakes in recent years. In June 2022, a major earthquake struck southeastern Afghanistan and killed more 1,000 people, according to Taliban officials.

The twin shocks follow two other major quakes this year, in Turkey and Morocco, that killed tens of thousands of people combined.

The disasters have compounded the already dire humanitarian and economic crises that have engulfed Afghanistan since the Western-backed government collapsed two years ago, prompting millions of jobs to disappear practically overnight and the prices of basic goods to soar.

Today, nearly half of the country's 39 million people face severe hunger, including about three million on the brink of starvation, according to the United Nations' World Food Program.

Since the Taliban seized power in 2021, U.N. officials have said that Afghanistan represents the world's largest humanitarian crisis. But two years into Taliban rule, aid money has begun to dry up as other crises have seized the world's attention and the Taliban administration's mounting restrictions on women have led to calls to cut off funding from the country entirely in response.

As the country heads into the frigid winter months, the suffering is expected to worsen as families are forced to choose between spending the little money they have on food or on firewood to keep their families warm.

The entrenched humanitarian crisis and series of natural disasters have tested the Taliban's ability to coordinate vast and sustained aid efforts since seizing power in 2021.

After the earthquake on Saturday, Taliban officials said they had directed military and service organizations to prioritize rescue operations, transporting the injured, preparing homeless shelters and delivering food aid in the remote areas that were most affected. On Sunday, officials said that the country's air force had made 32 flights transporting the wounded and that all relevant agencies were coordinating their response.

But the sudden and dire need for food, aid and shelter appeared to be overwhelming the government's ability to respond.

"We sent tents, but the number of families was in the thousands, and we could only give tents to some families," said Musa Ashari, the head of the Taliban's disaster management department for Herat. "For example, 20 to 30 tents have been given to a hundred families. The rest of them don't even have a tent to live in."

At one school turned aid center on the outskirts of Herat City, hundreds of injured people from one of the worst-hit districts, Zinda Jan, lay on dusty blankets waiting for medical help to arrive on Sunday. Many were taken to Baba Ji High School on Saturday by volunteers who had dug them out of the piles of rubble that were once their homes.

Dazed and injured, they were taken to the school — which local leaders had designated as an aid distribution point — because hospitals and clinics were overwhelmed. But nearly 24 hours after they arrived, most had not received any water, medicine or food from government officials, according to a volunteer.

"The conditions are horrible," said the volunteer, Jami, 44, who preferred to go by her last name for fear of retribution for speaking to the news media.

In many of the hardest-hit areas — mostly villages along mountainous dirt roads and where homes are little more than mudbrick single-story structures — volunteers said little, if any, government aid had arrived.

Qudos Khatibi, 37, a resident of Herat City, traveled to the Zinda Jan District on Sunday morning with other volunteers carrying local donations of water, food and other aid. The devastation, he said, was worse than they could have imagined.

In some villages once home to hundreds of people, there were only a few survivors. The bodies of dozens of children were covered in dust and sheet metal from the religious school they were attending when the quake struck. Village after village was reduced to rubble.

"The situation is very bad," he said. "You could not tell the difference between a house and an alley."

Safiullah Padshah contributed reporting.

Pakistan Plans to Deport Migrants to Afghanistan As Taliban Tension Rises

By ZIA ur-REHMAN and CHRISTINA GOLDBAUM

FAREED KHAN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Families departed for Afghanistan on Friday in Karachi, Pakistan. A new policy says Afghan migrants must leave within weeks.

KARACHI, Pakistan — Hundreds of police officers flooded into a Karachi slum around midnight, surrounding the homes of Afghan migrants and pounding at their doors. Under the harsh glare of floodlights, the police told women to stand to one side of their homes and demanded the men present immigration papers proving they were living in Pakistan legally. Those without documents were lined up in the street, some shaking with fear for what was to come: Detention in a Pakistani prison and deportation to Taliban-controlled Afghanistan.

The police raid on Friday in Karachi, Pakistan's largest city, followed an abrupt decision by the Pakistani authorities last week to deport the more than one million Afghan migrants living illegally in the country.

"Police entered every house without warning," said Abdul Bashar, an Afghan migrant whose two cousins were among the 51 people who the police said were arrested during the neighborhood sweep. "The fear has left us restless, making it difficult for us to sleep peacefully at night."

On Tuesday, Pakistan's Interior Ministry announced that migrants residing illegally in the country had 28 days to leave voluntarily, and it offered a "reward" for information leading to their arrests once that deadline passed.

Though Pakistani officials say the crackdown applies to all foreign citizens, the policy is largely believed to be targeting Afghans, who make up the vast majority of migrants in Pakistan.

While Afghans have faced harassment in Pakistan for decades, this announcement was the government's most far-reaching and explicit action affecting Afghan migrants. It was widely seen as a sign of the increasing hostility between the Pakistani government and the Taliban authorities in neighboring Afghanistan as they clash over extremist groups operating across their border.

Over the past year, Pakistan has experienced a surge in terrorist attacks, both by militant groups that have found haven in Afghanistan under the Taliban administration and by others whose fighters have been pushed into Pakistan following a brutal Taliban-led crackdown on their ranks. Some former Taliban fighters have also migrated to Pakistan to wage jihad against the Pakistani government.

For months, the Pakistani authorities have pleaded with the Taliban to rein in extremist violence originating from Afghan soil. But Taliban officials have rebuffed those calls, instead offering to mediate talks between the Pakistani authorities and the militants.

The growing animosity between the two countries has threatened to further destabilize a region that is already a political tinderbox.

On one side of the contested border, the Taliban administration in Afghanistan is armed with a vast arsenal of American-made weapons left during the U.S. withdrawal and feels encouraged by its victory over a global superpower. Many within the Taliban have also harbored resentment toward Pakistan for decades.

On the other is nuclear-armed Pakistan, which has struggled with military coups, volatile politics and waves of sectarian violence since its founding more than 75 years ago.

Caught in between are the roughly 1.7 million Afghans living in Pakistan illegally, according to Pakistani officials. Among them are around 600,000 people — including journalists, activists and former police officers, soldiers and officials with the toppled U.S.-backed government — who fled after the Taliban seized power, according to United Nations estimates.

Many of those migrants face a stark choice: Either return to Afghanistan, where they fear persecution by the Taliban, or remain in Pakistan and face harassment from the Pakistani authorities.

"We have been left in the lurch," said Mahmood Kochai, an Afghan journalist who fled to Pakistan with his wife and six children after the Taliban seized power.

Like many Afghan migrants in the capital, Islamabad, Mr. Kochai arrived in Pakistan on a temporary visa, anticipating an asylum decision from Western embassies in Islamabad. Soon after arriving, he applied for sanctuary in the United States under a refugee program for Afghans who worked with the U.S. government or U.S.-funded organizations.

But since he applied more than a year ago, he has not heard anything back, Mr. Kochai said. Now, he is concerned about the expiration of their Pakistani visas in two months.

In Karachi, home to a sizable population of Afghan migrants, news of migrants' getting arrested at security checkpoints on roads and in markets during routine outings has stoked panic.

About 1.7 million live illegally in the country, Islamabad says.

Ali, a former Afghan security official who would give only his first name because of his immigrant status in Pakistan, said he and his neighbors — also Afghan migrants — had barely gone outside for two weeks, fearing getting arrested and being sent back to Afghanistan. If he is deported, he worries he faces arrest — or worse — because of his affiliation with the U.S.-backed government.

The new policy has in fact drawn criticism from human rights groups, which say deporting Afghans could put them at risk in Afghanistan. Despite the Taliban's policy of blanket amnesty for Afghans who worked with the U.S.-backed government, human rights monitors have documented hundreds of abuses against former government officials since the Taliban seized power.

Pakistani officials have defended the new policy as necessary to protect Pakistan from extremist violence. In a news conference on Tuesday, the Pakistani caretaker government's interior minister, Sarfraz Bugti, asserted that Afghans were involved in 14 of the 24 major terrorist attacks in Pakistan this year.

"There are attacks on us from Afghanistan, and Afghan nationals are involved in those attacks," he said. Taliban officials denied those claims.

The aggressive approach echoes similar crackdowns on Afghan migrants in years past, observers say. After a string of major terrorist attacks in 2016, the Pakistani authorities began a sweeping campaign to uproot Afghan migrants, forcing around 600,000 back to Afghanistan. Human Rights Watch characterized Pakistan's actions as the world's "largest unlawful mass forced return of refugees" in recent times.

"Afghans always get stuck when foreign relations break down between Afghanistan and Pakistan," said Sanaa Alimia, researcher and author of "Refugee Cities: How Afghans Changed Urban Pakistan."

"That usually manifests itself as harassment of ordinary Afghans in the country and those getting harassed are usually in the lowest income groups, they are an easy target," she added.

Pakistan has not signed the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 protocol covering the status of refugees, which protects people seeking asylum. Instead, Pakistan's Foreigners' Act grants the authorities the right to apprehend, detain and expel foreigners — including refugees and asylum seekers — who lack valid documentation.

After previous crackdowns, many Afghans have either remained in Pakistan or returned after being deported — underlining the limit of the Pakistani government's ability to repatriate Afghans, experts say.

Now, with the government facing dueling economic and political crises, it is unclear how the Pakistani authorities would repatriate such a large number of refugees, a deportation campaign requiring substantial personnel as well as military and intelligence resources.

Maulvi Abdul Jabbar Takhari, the Taliban's consul general in Karachi, said that many Afghans who had been arrested possess legal documents allowing them to live in Pakistan and that Taliban officials had been trying to secure their release.

Mr. Takhari, who lived as a refugee in Karachi for several years, urged Pakistan's government "to provide a specific time frame for undocumented refugees so that they can peacefully and respectfully wind up their businesses and return to their homeland."

But for Afghan migrants, the wave of arrests has been a chilling reminder of their precarious status in Pakistan. Many arrived in the country decades ago, after the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and after the civil war that followed the Soviet withdrawal.

Abdullah Bukhari, 51, came to Karachi in 1980 from Kunduz Province fleeing violence during the Soviet-Afghan war. The notion of uprooting his life in less than a month feels absurd and heartbreaking.

"How can they uproot everything in such a short period?" Mr. Bukhari asked. "We've spent our lives as refugees and amid conflict, but our biggest concern is for our children. They have never experienced Afghanistan even for a day."

Zia ur-Rehman reported from Karachi, and Christina Goldbaum from London.

National

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The New York Times

WHITE HOUSE MEMO

Dog Bites and Complicated Dynamics With the Boss

By PETER BAKER

HAIYUN JIANG /THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Biden's dog Commander at the White House before he was banished after a string of biting episodes. Some insiders wonder why it took so long.

If you want a friend in Washington, get a dog, Harry S. Truman supposedly once said. But what if the dog is not all that friendly?

For President Biden, pet ownership in the White House has proved to be a presidential headache as a series of biting episodes has now forced him to banish a second family dog from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Commander, the 2-year-old German shepherd who at times has been more conflict animal than comfort animal, has been dispatched to what a previous administration might have called an undisclosed location to protect the Secret Service agents who are supposed to be protecting the president — just as Major, another presidential canine, was two years ago.

The unhappy end to Commander's term in the White House has provided fodder for tabloids and late-night comics but also hints at the complicated and sometimes tense dynamics inside one of the world's most exclusive mansions. The relationship between a president and the staff that serves him is inherently fraught as the two adjust to each other's habits, preferences and needs. But in this case, according to insiders, it has also been strained by resentment and suspicion.

For Secret Service agents and officers as well as residential staff, the president's failure to take decisive action sooner has been baffling and frustrating, people close to them say. The agents have no choice but to stick close to the president and have felt uncomfortable not knowing if they might be bitten. Areas of the White House grounds were declared off limits when Commander was around, complicating their assignments.

Records obtained by a conservative watchdog organization this past summer indicated that there had been at least 10 instances of aggressive behavior before an 11th reported episode last week. However, two people who have been briefed on the matter but asked not to be identified because of its sensitivity said on Friday that the real total is more like two or three dozen.

One previously reported biting episode, in which a Secret Service officer required hospital treatment, was so bad that it spilled blood on the floor, according to one of the people.

On the other side is a president and his family who do not seem to feel all that at home in the White House, so much so that they escape nearly every weekend to one of their real homes in Delaware or, alternatively, Camp David. The dog has been one of their sources of comfort in the museum-like presidential mansion, and the family has been reluctant to lose him. Some around the president suspect the Secret Service of leaking the news of the dog bites to force his hand.

"Obviously, this has become a major problem," said Larry Cosme, the president of the Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association, which represents Secret Service personnel. "I'm glad they're addressing it now. But how many bites does it take to address it?"

The White House has issued statements expressing concern for those affected. "The president and the first lady care deeply about the safety of those who work at the White House and those who protect them every day," Elizabeth Alexander, a spokeswoman for Jill Biden, said this week. "They remain grateful for the patience and support of the U.S. Secret Service and all involved as they continue to work through solutions."

White House officials stress that they took steps to address the problem even though they did not succeed. But it has not gone unnoticed in the Secret Service that the White House statement did not include an explicit apology to those who had been bitten.

The Bidens respect those guarding them, according to one former administration official, who like others asked not to be identified discussing personal matters, but who said that for a variety of reasons there are trust issues.

PHOTOQUEST/GETTY IMAGES

Herbert Hoover with King Tut, who had been a police dog and struggled with anxiety at the White House.

'Most presidents have found it enormously helpful to have dog-friends who don't really care what they did right or wrong, don't care about the poll numbers or fund-raising goals, and simply love them regardless.'

LINDSAY M. CHERVINSKY, a senior fellow at the Center for Presidential History at Southern Methodist University.

Of course, a bite from Commander hardly compares to the biting rhetoric from a former commander in chief, and some around Mr. Biden bristle at attention to the matter while his predecessor, Donald J. Trump, threatens those he dislikes with execution while facing multiple criminal and civil charges.

As it happens, Mr. Trump was the first president in nearly one and a half centuries who did not have a dog in the White House. And others have had trouble disciplining their canine friends, according to Andrew Hager, the historian in residence for the Presidential Pet Museum, an online tribute to animals that have lived in the White House.

Theodore Roosevelt had a menagerie at the mansion, including a pony, a zebra, a parrot, bears, a lion, a hyena, a coyote, rats and a one-legged rooster. He also had an aggressive dog named Pete who chased and bit multiple people, including the French ambassador, before finally being sent off to live at Sagamore Hill, the family's New York home.

King Tut, a Belgian Shepherd owned by Herbert Hoover, had previously been a police dog and struggled at the White House because he was so nervous and anxious about protecting the family. Records are not clear on what he did, but the Hoovers eventually sent him back to their house on S Street in Washington.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, like Mr. Biden, had a German shepherd named Major, who tore the pants of the British prime minister at a state dinner in 1933. He was sent away too. Barney, the Scottish terrier beloved by George W. Bush, bit a Reuters reporter in 2008, but with the president's term just weeks from expiring, the dog got to stay until the end.

"The presidency is an incredibly lonely job with pressures and burdens few people can possibly understand," said Lindsay M. Chervinsky, a senior fellow at Southern Methodist University's Center for Presidential History. "Accordingly, most presidents have found it enormously helpful to have dog-friends who don't really care what they did right or wrong, don't care about the poll numbers or fund-raising goals, and simply love them regardless."

The Bidens clearly feel the same way. Their dogs have long been an integral part of the family and could roam freely at their homes in Rehoboth Beach and Wilmington, Del. Jill Biden would sometimes FaceTime with her dogs from the campaign trail in 2016. After their dog Champ died in 2021 at age 13 and Major was sent to live with friends of the Bidens' because of his own biting, James Biden, the president's brother, gave him Commander as a birthday gift.

The first lady would bring Commander along with Willow the cat to her office in the East Wing, where there were food bowls waiting. The dog had a fenced-in section in the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden where he could run around. But his training evidently never fully clicked, and he never adjusted to life in Washington. "The White House can be a stressful environment for pets," Ms. Alexander said.

The relationship between the Bidens and the Secret Service was sensitive even before any fangs were bared. During Mr. Biden's days as vice president, they shared some difficult, bonding moments together, including the death of his son Beau. But then as now, Mr. Biden made a point of traveling home to Delaware regularly, with plans often fluid until the last minute, which produced grumbling among agents who had to scramble to make arrangements and then lost weekends with their own families.

At the same time, once he won the presidency, Mr. Biden noticed that some in the Secret Service seemed to have grown close to Mr. Trump and reportedly wondered about their loyalty. When the first biting episode involving Major was reported, Mr. Biden told a friend that "it didn't happen" and that someone was lying, according to "The Fight of His Life," Chris Whipple's account of the early Biden term. Mr. Whipple, who had extensive access to Mr. Biden's staff, reported that the president did not feel comfortable speaking freely around his agents.

But Anthony Guglielmi, the chief of communications for the Secret Service, denied that there was friction. "The relationship is not strained," he said. "Especially the agents of the P.P.D., the presidential protective division, have a tremendous amount of respect and trust for the president and I can say that that's mutual."

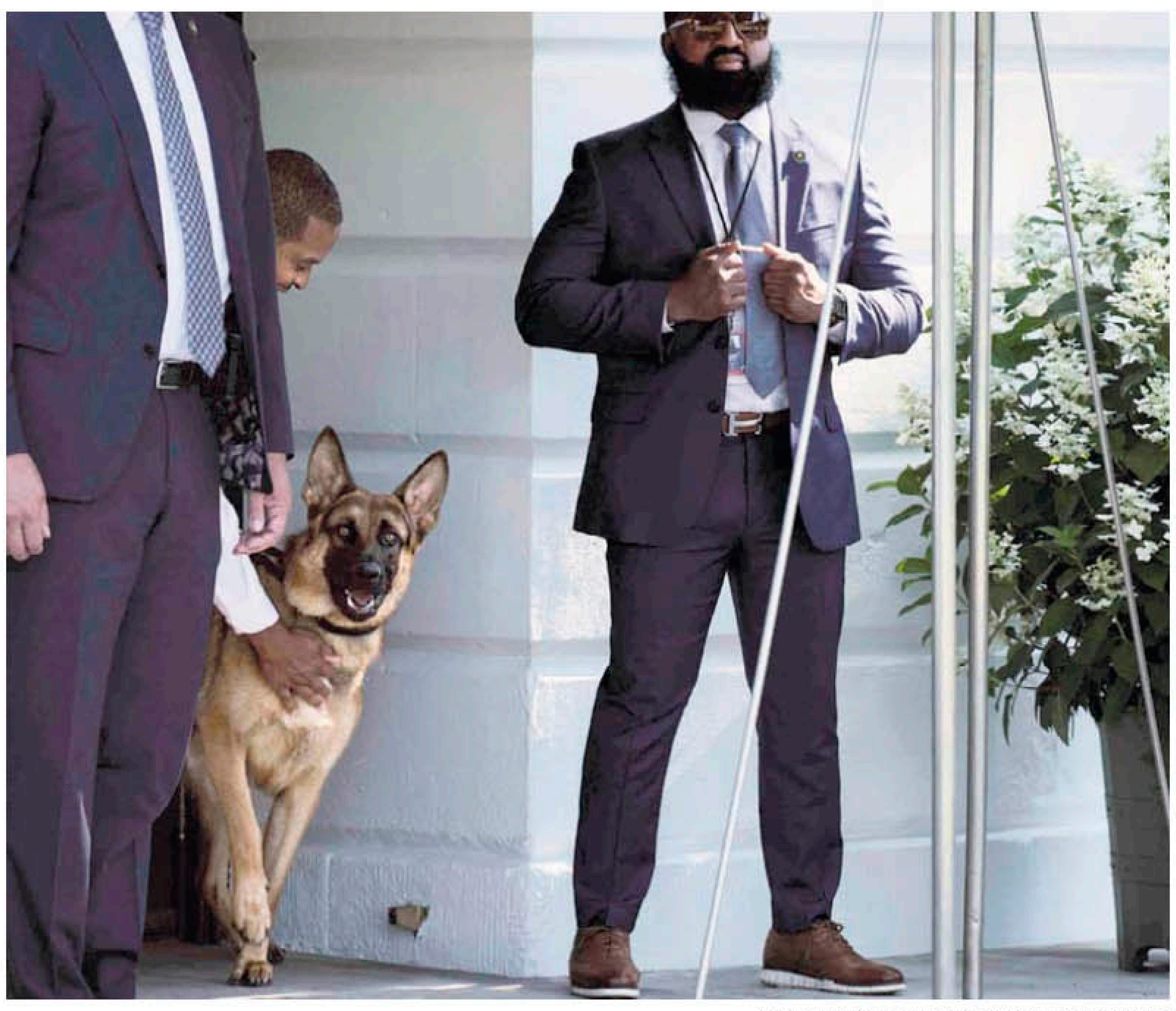
Ms. Alexander echoed that. "The Bidens have the utmost respect and admiration for the Secret Service and have always experienced a warm, personal and trusting relationship with them throughout their years in the White House and vice president," she said.

As for Truman, it turns out that he may never have actually uttered the sage words so often attributed to him.

The get-a-dog quotation began showing up in The New York Times in the 1980s credited to the former president, but in reality may have originated from a play featuring a Truman character. "We have never been able to confirm or verify that President Truman ever wrote or said, 'If you want a friend in Washington, get a dog,'" said Sam Rushay, supervisory archivist at the Harry S. Truman Library and Museum.

And it was not advice Truman took himself. When a crate arrived at the White House just before Christmas in 1947 with a 5-week-old cocker spaniel named Feller as a gift, Truman was immune to his charms and gave him to his White House physician, Wallace Graham. "The Trumans," Mr. Rushay said, "were not pet people."

STEFANI REYNOLDS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



T.J. KIRKPATRICK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

At left, Commander as a puppy with Mr. Biden and the first lady, Jill Biden, in 2021 in Delaware, where the Bidens seem to feel more comfortable than at the White House. Above, Commander in June 2022. "The White House can be a stressful environment for pets," a spokeswoman for Dr. Biden said.

"How can you tell someone not to follow their American dream?" said Carlos Gabriel Hernández, a migrant in Quito, Ecuador.

Raúl Alfredo Chica returned to his family in Quito after he was caught crossing the border in Texas. They might not stay long.

Henry Aguilar, with his family in Mexico City, wants to go to Texas because a friend said he could not find work in New York.

Migrants Turn Deaf Ear To Adams's Plea to Halt

This article is by ***Andy Newman, Julie Turkewitz*** *and* ***Juan Arredondo.***

BOGOTÁ, Colombia — Mayor Eric Adams of New York City arrived by helicopter on Saturday on the Caribbean coast of Colombia, where hundreds of thousands of desperate migrants enter the jungle passageway called the Darién Gap.

It was the final stop on a four-day trip meant to send a message: Please do not come to New York.

It was an extraordinary tableau. Mr. Adams, wearing an olive-drab outfit and aviator sunglasses suggestive of military gear, was escorted by Colombia's ambassador to the United States, the head of the national police and a heavy security detail. In Necoclí, as hundreds of migrants looked on, Mr. Adams stood beneath palm trees by the loading dock for a ferry into the jungle and alluded to difficult conditions "on the streets of New York."

He did not explicitly tell the migrants to stay away from New York: He did not address his remarks directly to them. But he called for efforts to "push back on the propaganda that is giving people false hopes and false promises." He has said frequently during the trip that migrants are being wrongly told that they will find comfortable living conditions and easy employment in New York.

The visit, culminating a 7,000-mile swing through Mexico, Ecuador and Colombia, was all the more remarkable given the uncertainty that the mayor's attempt at deterrence would have any effect at all.

In more than a dozen interviews this week in Necoclí and on the streets of Mexico City and Ecuador's capital, Quito, most U.S.-bound migrants said that they would not be dissuaded by Mr. Adams's statements. The city has been increasingly overwhelmed by the 120,000 migrants who have arrived since last year; sheltering them has become so costly that the mayor has called for budget cuts. On his trip, Mr. Adams has called for countries to work together to help the migrants.

Johanna del Valle Acosta, traveling with her fiancé and three children from the Falcón state of Venezuela, said she understood Mr. Adams's mission. "I think he, as mayor, is defending his country," she said as Mr. Adams headed toward Necoclí, a poor fishing and tourist town that has been transformed by migrants making their way north.

But she asked for compassion. "Suddenly other countries see us as a threat, but we are good people who want to work," she said. The day's spectacle included a protest, hastily organized by an activist from New York, in which migrants chanted "Shame on you" at the mayor.

In Quito on Friday, a hundred feet from where the mayor and his entourage were touring the historic city center, Carlos Gabriel Hernández sat on a restaurant doorstep with his wife and two young children. He said that he and his family had already tried and failed to cross the Darién Gap but were determined to try again to reach New York. He was puzzled, even offended, to learn the purpose of Mr. Adams's visit.

"How can you tell someone not to follow their American dream?" he asked.

At a news conference in Quito, Mr. Adams, who said he had made the trip to learn firsthand about the forces driving global displacement, acknowledged the limits of his efforts. "Mayor Adams showing up at the Darién Gap is not going to change the minds of everyone that's coming through," he said.

He added, "There isn't one magic pill that's going to solve this crisis, and we need to be clear on that." But, he said, "If we sit back and wait for the one magic pill, then we are going to watch this issue erode."

Mr. Adams is not the first U.S. official to visit the Darién region. The State Department has sent several recent delegations whose members have sometimes used the visits to urge people to not make the trek. But these pleas have been followed by ever-larger waves of migrants.

In Mexico City, where Mr. Adams spoke at a business conference on Thursday, hundreds of families were camped outside a terminal for buses headed north, their tents and tarps stretching for blocks. Most were waiting for relatives to wire them money.

Jhonatan Antony Velásquez Diaz, 33, sat against the glass of an altar to the Virgin Mary. Beside him, his wife nursed their 6-month-old daughter. They trekked for 22 days from Venezuela and were robbed at gunpoint. Mr. Velásquez said that friends who had made it to New York "tell me to come, that a lot of them have jobs."

"That lifts me up and helps me to keep going," he said.

He said he doubted Mr. Adams's words would carry much weight. "No matter what, people are going to get there, and I'm not going to be discouraged by what a politician says or a mayor says."

Some families had heard less encouraging things about the city. Henry Aguilar, who had pushed through the jungle with his wife, three children and a dog, played a voice message that a friend sent him this week.

"I've been here for a little more than a week, and I haven't been able to find work," the friend was heard saying. "It's not as easy as they paint it."

Mr. Aguilar, 34, a former military bodyguard in Venezuela, had planned to bring his family to New York, but after hearing that there were no places to stay, he set his sights on Texas.

At every stop on his tour, Mr. Adams enlisted local news outlets to spread his message. "We need you, the media," he told reporters in Quito, "the power of you going into households, going on apps and cellphones to push back on this misinformation" that New York would be an easy place to start a new life.

But a media blitz may be no match for the determination of those who see no future in their homeland.

Raúl Alfredo Chica, 39, runs a wood shop in Quito that makes frames for sofas and chairs. When the pandemic hit, his business was decimated and he laid off most of his employees. He fell into debt, then bankruptcy. In the middle of the night in late 2021, he woke his wife and told her, "I'm going to the U.S."

After a grueling journey by foot, bus and storm-tossed boat, he crossed into Texas and was promptly arrested and detained for two months. Back home, his equipment was stolen. Extortionists paid regular visits to his wife. Mr. Chica gave up and returned.

Mr. Adams, he said, "might persuade some people, but I'll tell you this: Even after all that I went through, my wife now wants to go."

Darwin Anchundia contributed reporting from Quito, Ecuador, and Yolvys de la Cruz from Necoclí, Colombia.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUAN ARREDONDO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mayor Eric Adams of New York touring Quito. During his four-day trip to Latin America, he urged migrants not to come to the city.

Biden and a Turnaround On Building a Border Wall

By EILEEN SULLIVAN and COLBI EDMONDS

The Biden administration said on Thursday that it would build up to 20 miles of border barriers authorized during the Trump administration in Texas's Rio Grande Valley.

The decision is a confusing one. As a candidate, President Biden pledged never to build another foot of border wall. And on Thursday, he told reporters he did not think the wall would be effective.

While former President Donald J. Trump made the border wall a signature of his immigration policies, he was not the first president to build barriers to keep people from coming to the United States illegally.

Portions of the border wall date back to the 1990s. In 2006, Congress revived the concept and expanded it. As a senator, Mr. Biden supported it. Construction continued throughout the Obama administration, as well. Over the years, wall projects have started and stopped because of environmental and legal issues.

Here's what you need to know about its latest iteration.

Why is President Biden building the wall?

Alejandro N. Mayorkas, the Homeland Security secretary, says Mr. Biden is building up to 20 miles of border wall because he has to.

The administration said that it was bound to build this section of new wall because Congress already appropriated the funding to do so in 2019. It had been unsuccessful in convincing Congress to rescind the funding, Mr. Mayorkas said.

"From Day 1, this administration has made clear that a border wall is not the answer," Mr. Mayorkas said on Thursday in Mexico City, after a member of the Mexican news media asked about the apparent reversal. "That remains our position, and our position has never wavered."

But the justification that Mr. Mayorkas gave in the federal register suggested that the construction along this stretch was needed to stop unauthorized crossings.

"There is presently an acute and immediate need to construct physical barriers and roads in the vicinity of the border of the United States in order to prevent unlawful entries into the United States," he wrote in the public notice.

The administration also said it was waiving more than 20 federal laws and regulations to allow for the construction of the barriers.

The funding appropriated for this section of barriers is separate from the Defense Department funds that Mr. Trump reprogrammed to build a wall. Mr. Biden halted the use of the reprogrammed defense funds on his first day in office.

Have migrants been crossing the border in the Rio Grande Valley?

Border Patrol agents have made more than two million arrests at the southwest border this year. Some 245,000 of those were in the area of the Rio Grande Valley in Starr County, Texas, where the new fencing will go, according to government data.

It is an area where large groups of migrants often make the crossing together. In a five-day period in July, Border Patrol agents arrested four large groups, 520 migrants in all. Most of the migrants were from Central and South America. Border officials say sending large groups of migrants at once is a common technique used by smugglers. The goal, officials say, is to overwhelm Border Patrol agents in remote areas where resources are stretched thin. Many migrants in this region end up being rescued because of dehydration or other health problems that come from spending hours in the desert.

The dense brush along the river coupled with the area's isolation make it an ideal crossing point for migrants. As night falls, smugglers pump inflatable rafts and send dozens, hundreds or more people across the Rio Grande.

Once they have crossed, migrants typically walk a few miles, until they encounter a U.S. Border Patrol vehicle. They surrender, and await transport to a station for processing by the authorities.

How long is the border wall?

There are currently 706 noncontiguous miles of border wall — which consists of a variety of barriers — along parts of the nearly 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico. Building a continuous border wall has never been a realistic option, because the terrain along the border is so different.

There are also natural barriers that slow down crossings the way man-made barriers do.

Which presidents have added to it?

The first iteration of a border wall intended to stem illegal immigration came in 1993 when President Bill Clinton called for 14 miles of barriers — a three-layer fence — to be constructed between San Diego and Tijuana. At the time, that area had a significant number of illegal crossings.

In 2006, Congress called for at least another 700 miles of barrier construction during the Bush administration. By the end of 2008, the administration announced it had completed nearly 500 miles of fencing.

During the Obama administration, when Mr. Biden was vice president, about 130 additional miles of barriers were added, according to government data.

During the Trump administration, some 458 noncontiguous miles of border barrier were constructed, mostly to replace barriers that had been put in place during previous administrations. In all, according to the Government Accountability Office, only 87 miles of new barriers were added.

It hardly looked like what Mr. Trump had described as he chanted with supporters to "build the wall." He envisioned a concrete wall, at times with spikes mounted at the top of a steel structure to tear migrants' flesh if they tried to climb it. At one point, he suggested painting the wall black, so it would burn the skin of anyone who tried to get past it during the extreme heat of summer.

Does building a wall work?

While Mr. Biden says the wall does not work, his budget requests to Congress say otherwise.

"The border wall system impedes and denies illicit cross-border activity by allowing law enforcement an increased response time and greater opportunity for successful law enforcement resolution," according to documents for the 2023 fiscal year request.

Members of law enforcement who work along the southern border also say portions of the wall are an effective part of the overall strategy to secure the border.

Critics have long said that a wall is not the answer. The construction is expensive, and so are the constant repairs.

Janet Napolitano, a former Arizona governor, once said, "Show me a 50-foot wall and I'll show you a 51-foot ladder." Ms. Napolitano later became Homeland Security secretary during the Obama administration and argued for border security to include a range of measures, including technology.

ADRIA MALCOLM FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A portion of the border wall near Sunland Park, N.M. There are currently 706 noncontiguous miles of wall separating the U.S. and Mexico.

A wall is also dangerous for those who try to climb over it. In May, someone trying to enter the country dropped a 4-year-old boy over the wall. In 2018, a woman was impaled by the metal bars, and another died in 2022 after becoming "ensnared" on the fence.

What has Mr. Biden done differently from Mr. Trump?

The idea of a border wall has always been controversial. Some say it goes against America's history of being welcome to immigrants. Others want it to signal that people without authorization are not welcome. But Mr. Trump identified himself so closely with the wall that it became more politically charged than ever, and still represents a key part of Republican lawmakers' strategy to secure the border.

On his first day in office, in January 2021, Mr. Biden halted all border wall construction, a direct reversal of Mr. Trump's policy. Mr. Trump had ordered that defense funds be reprogrammed to cover additional construction, because Congress refused to appropriate the amount of money that Mr. Trump wanted. When Mr. Biden halted construction funded by the Defense Department, this left portions of the wall in various states of construction.

A few months later, the number of illegal crossings started to increase significantly, and Mr. Biden's border policies, particularly halting wall construction, infuriated Republicans and some law enforcement officials along the southern border.

In some areas, this led to small but significant gaps that became new crossing points for the thousands of people a day who arrived in the United States without authorization and surrendered to Border Patrol agents.

The Biden administration has addressed some of these gaps and made repairs, but until now had not undertaken significant new construction.

Jonathan Swan and Miriam Jordan contributed reporting.

Biden Allies Try to Quash Third-Party Candidates, Fearing a Trump Win

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at least make it more costly to qualify.

At expensive resorts and closed-door conferences, Democratic donors are urging their friends not to fund potential spoiler candidates. And in key swing states, lone-wolf operators, including a librarian from Arizona, are trying their own tactics to make life difficult for third-party contenders.

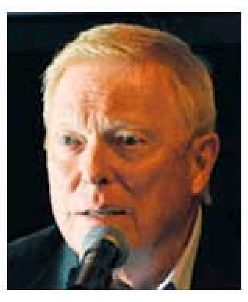
The anxiety over candidates and parties traditionally consigned to the fringes of American politics reflects voters' deep dissatisfaction with both men who are likely to become the major parties' nominees. No third-party candidate has risen out of the single digits in three decades, since Ross Perot captured nearly a fifth of the vote in 1992. Given the devotion of Mr. Trump's most ardent supporters, Democrats fear that most of the attrition would come from Mr. Biden's fragile coalition.

"They've got to understand the risk that they are exposing the country to by doing this," said Richard A. Gephardt, a former House majority leader and a Democratic Party graybeard who has formed a super PAC to attack outsider campaigns. "This is too dangerous of an idea to put in play in this context, in this year. These are not normal times."

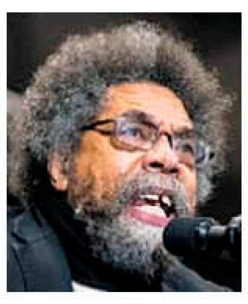
Mr. Gephardt warned that third-party candidates threatened not only Mr. Biden's chances of victory but also the stability of American democracy. Internal polling conducted by his group found that an independent centrist candidate could attract more than 20 percent of the vote in competitive states, helping Mr. Trump in all but one of them.

In recent days, two candidates have taken steps toward mounting independent bids. Cornel West, the left-wing Harvard professor, announced on Thursday that he would run as an independent candidate. And Robert F. Kennedy Jr. has hinted that he may announce on Monday that he is leaving the Democratic presidential primary race to run as an independent. Already, a super PAC backing his bid has raised $17 million, according to Tony Lyons, the group's treasurer.

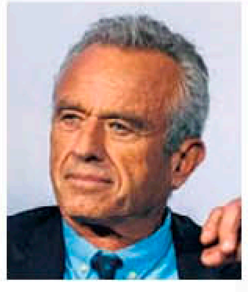
Still, most of the Biden allies' attention is directed at No Labels,



Richard Gephardt has formed a super PAC to attack outsider campaigns.



Cornel West, a Harvard professor and left-wing candidate, is running as an independent.



Robert F. Kennedy Jr. may be leaving the Democratic primary in favor of a third party.

CAITLIN O'HARA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Richard Grayson, a librarian, is seeking the No Labels nomination for a state office in Arizona. The truth? "I'm a perennial candidate whose goal is to torture No Labels," he said. "I'm enjoying it immensely."

the best-funded outsider organization, which after years of sponsoring bipartisan congressional caucuses is working to gain ballot access for a presidential candidate for the first time.

The group's chief executive, Nancy Jacobson, has told potential donors and allies that the No Labels candidate will be a moderate Republican, according to three people familiar with the conversations. That decision would rule out Senator Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, a Democrat whose flirtation with the idea has prompted a wave of angst within his party.

No Labels has already raised $60 million, Ms. Jacobson said in an interview, and has qualified for the ballot in 11 states, including the presidential battlegrounds of Arizona, Nevada and North Carolina. The group plans to spend about half of the money on securing ballot access across all 50 states.

Ms. Jacobson said her organization was devoted to presenting voters with an option beyond Mr. Biden and Mr. Trump. No Labels is in the process of vetting potential candidates now and will announce its delegate selection process in the coming weeks, she said. The plan is to hold a nominating convention in April in Dallas and anoint a presidential ticket if it is clear the country is heading toward a 2020 rematch.

Ms. Jacobson and her chief strategist, Ryan Clancy, insist that their effort is in good faith and is not a secret plot to help Mr. Trump win.

"We're never going to be a party to something that would spoil it for Trump," Mr. Clancy said.

No Labels has focused its recent polling on eight states that are expected to be competitive in a Biden-Trump contest, though Mr. Clancy said he believed a No Labels ticket would be viable in 25 states. If a third-party or independent candidate were to gain serious traction, it could reshuffle the entire presidential map, potentially turning states like New York or Texas into true battlegrounds.

Mr. Kennedy has also been a source of concern for Democrats, who worry that his anti-corporate politics and famous last name could pull some of their voters away from Mr. Biden. But some of Mr. Biden's top allies also believe that Mr. Kennedy, who has increasingly pushed right-wing ideas, would hurt Mr. Trump.

The broad Democratic unease is rooted in a core belief that Mr. Trump has both a low ceiling and a high floor of general-election support — meaning that his voters are less likely to be swayed by a third-party or independent candidate. Mr. Biden has wider appeal, but his supporters are not as loyal, and polling has suggested that they could be persuaded to back someone else if given more options.

Public and private surveys point to increased interest in alternatives this election. In polling released this week by Monmouth University, majorities of voters said that they were not enthusiastic about Mr. Trump or Mr. Biden being at the top of their party's ticket and that they would not back either man if the race became a rematch.

Matt Bennett, a co-founder of the center-left group Third Way who is serving as a clearinghouse for Democrats' effort to block third-party and independent candidates, is working with the progressive organization MoveOn and a host of like-minded Biden allies to dissuade anyone from having any association with No Labels. Those efforts are bankrolled by more than $1 million from Reid Hoffman, the billionaire Democratic megadonor.

Mr. Bennett is using Third Way's connections with centrist donors to try to block No Labels' access to money, while Rahna Epting, the executive director of MoveOn, has been briefing other progressive groups and labor unions about the dangers of their members' supporting third-party candidates instead of Mr. Biden.

"Anything that divides the anti-Trump coalition is bad," Mr. Bennett said.

Marc Elias, one of the party's most dogged and litigious election lawyers, has been retained by American Bridge, the Democratic Party's primary opposition research organization, to vet ballot-qualification efforts by No Labels and other third-party efforts.

And the Democratic National Committee has instructed state and county party leaders to say nothing in public about No Labels, according to an email the Utah Democratic Party sent to county leaders in the state.

"We need to do everything we can to stop this effort NOW, and not wait until they name a ticket and this becomes a runaway train," Thom DeSirant, the executive director of the Utah Democratic Party, wrote in a missive that included links to Third Way's talking points about how to speak about No Labels.

The efforts resemble hand-to-hand political combat in both public and private. The abortion rights group Reproductive Freedom for All wrote on social media that Jon M. Huntsman Jr., a Republican former governor of Utah who has been linked to the No Labels bid, is an "abortion extremist," based on anti-abortion views he articulated during his 2012 presidential campaign.

And Michael Steele, who served as a lieutenant governor of Maryland and as Republican National Committee chairman, has assumed the portfolio of persuading former Gov. Larry Hogan of Maryland, a moderate Republican who has publicly toyed with accepting the No Labels nomination, to end his association with the group.

"I've told the governor what I think he should do," Mr. Steele said.

Perhaps nowhere has No Labels run into as many real-world roadblocks as in Arizona.

After the group successfully qualified for the presidential ballot, the Arizona Democratic Party sued to remove it. That legal effort failed, but the attention led two people to submit candidate statements to run for down-ballot offices on the No Labels ticket — something the group had tried to block so as to avoid being categorized as a political party, which could trigger requirements to disclose No Labels donors, who have so far been kept secret.

For different reasons, the Arizona candidates who are seeking the No Labels line could prove awkward for the movement.

One of them, Tyson Draper, a high school coach from Thatcher, Ariz., is seeking the group's line to run for the Senate. In an interview last week, he called himself a centrist political newcomer who had never sought public office before. A day later, he filed papers to begin a movement to recall Gov. Katie Hobbs, a Democrat.

The other would-be No Labeler is Richard Grayson, an assistant librarian at a community college south of Phoenix.

Mr. Grayson, 72, is seeking the No Labels nomination for the state's Corporation Commission, which regulates public utilities. He has appeared as a candidate for office dozens of times since 1982, and said he was a Biden supporter.

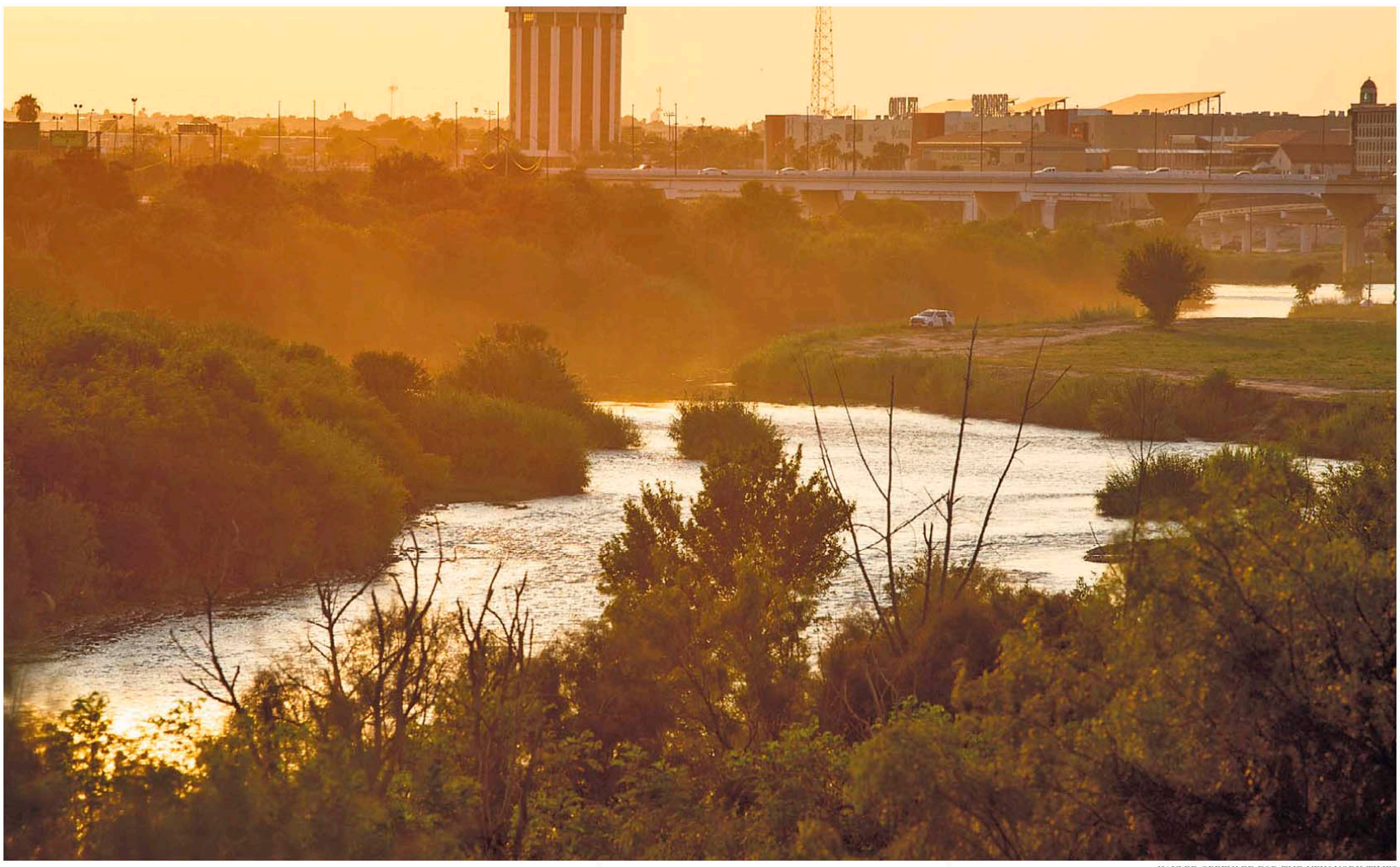
"I'm a perennial candidate whose goal is to torture No Labels," he said. "I'm enjoying it immensely. I'm tormenting them."

Rebecca Davis O'Brien contributed reporting.

RIMOWA

NO ONE BUILDS A LEGACY BY STANDING STILL

Migrants Are Jailed and Pressured to Testify in Smuggling Trials



KAYLEE GREENLEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In Laredo, Texas, witnesses are almost always held until the smuggling case goes to trial or the defendant pleads guilty. On average, that means sitting in jail for 13 weeks.

VALERIE PLESCH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

While she was in custody, Nohemy's smuggler threatened to kill her if she spoke to the authorities.

KAYLEE GREENLEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The U.S. District Court in Laredo. Testifying in smuggling cases is "high risk," said an official at the Mexican consulate there.

From Page A1

Trump's presidency, dipped with the onset of the pandemic and then rebounded last year under President Biden, with nearly 5,000 people jailed, the data show. Detentions in the first four months of 2023 were up 30 percent compared with last year.

Despite their significant numbers and sometimes lengthy detentions — nearly 850 people detained along the border in the past decade have been confined 180 days or longer — the witnesses register as little more than a footnote in the rancorous debate over unauthorized immigrants and serve as essential but unseen players in smuggling prosecutions.

Although lengthy detentions of material witnesses "deprives them of due process," said Kenneth Magidson, U.S. attorney for the Southern District of Texas during the Obama administration, people "entering the country illegally have to face certain consequences — and this is one of them."

"You could be a material witness, and you can get deported, or you can go to jail," he said.

The Justice Department, in a statement, said the detainees "provide indispensable testimony" and are "held only as long as necessary to ensure a just resolution of such cases."

But as immigration-related crimes have come to dominate federal court dockets — 56 percent of federal convictions over the last five years involved immigration offenses — the Justice Department and federal courts have developed no uniform approach to handling the witnesses, creating a jumble of local rules, standing orders and unwritten norms along the border.

Over the last decade, border towns in southeastern Texas have held more of the witnesses — and held them longer, on average — than anywhere else in the country, the Marshals' data shows. The material-witness law in that region — part of the federal Southern District of Texas — has been administered haphazardly, often with little regard for due process, a review of the detentions by The Times found.

In some parts of the district, which stretches from Laredo to Houston, federal judges have flouted a part of the law that requires them to schedule prompt witness testimony, often by videotape, and quickly release witnesses from detention. In many instances, court-appointed lawyers have encouraged detainees to waive hearings where they could make a case for their release, and judges have regularly held them well beyond the 30- and 45-day limits instituted in other federal courts along the border.

In Laredo, that means sitting in jail for 13 weeks on average.

"They leave you there, and they abandon you," said Yordy Emmanuel Larios-Vargas, a Mexican immigrant who was in custody for more than eight months last year.

Often, witnesses are jailed without ever giving testimony. About 1 percent of the more than 30,000 human-smuggling cases over the last decade went to trial, according to federal court data, because a vast majority of the accused pleaded guilty. And since it is not uncommon for the defendants to be U.S. citizens, they are often released on bond or under other conditions set by the court, even as the witnesses remain in custody.

The Department of Homeland Security does not track which immigrants are held as witnesses, so the agency has no data on how many go on to seek asylum after their release. Under immigration law, the witnesses are allowed to make an asylum claim. But often, they and their representatives say, those intending to seek asylum do not, because the process is confusing.

For those who return home, many face the prospect of confronting the very smugglers they were forced to testify against. An official at the Mexican consulate in Laredo described testifying as "high risk," adding that "organized crime groups know they are contributing to the case."

In other criminal prosecutions, including those involving human trafficking, the government sometimes offers special visas to foreigners who assist law enforcement. But material witnesses in smuggling cases are rarely eligible for this benefit and are often viewed as having committed a crime, even if they are not charged with one.

When immigrants are prosecuted for illegally entering the country, they often receive light sentences, like time served. Under the Biden administration, some prosecutors on the border rarely charge first-time offenders, who make up the bulk of the witnesses because their clean record plays well with juries.

"The good thing is that you're not charged with a crime," said Julio Garcia, a material-witness lawyer in Laredo who represented Mr. Larios-Vargas. "The bad thing is that you'll probably spend more time in custody than if you were."

Even without being charged, the witnesses are treated no differently from criminals. They wear the same uniform and must be hand- and ankle-cuffed when in transit, said Sheriff Anthony Zertuche, who oversees the LaSalle County Regional Detention Center, where a vast majority of Laredo's material witnesses are held.

A 26-year-old Guatemalan woman was jailed near McAllen as a witness in 2014 when she was five months pregnant, according to court documents and case notes shared with The Times by her immigration lawyer.

She gave birth while in custody, bound with zip ties and with U.S. Marshals standing watch in the delivery room. Two days later, she left the baby with the doctor at the hospital as the agents led her back to jail. "She cried inconsolably," according to her lawyer's notes, reuniting with the baby only two months later.

Ultimately, the smuggler in her case pleaded guilty, so she never gave testimony and was released after 180 days in detention — the same length of time as her smuggler's sentence.

Old Law Has New Purpose

The authority to detain material witnesses was approved during the first session of Congress, in 1789, and amended by bail reform acts, most recently in 1984. It is now contained in the part of the U.S. Code devoted to criminal procedure.

For most of its existence, the law has been applied in prosecutions where witnesses might have been participants or victims in the crimes, or were afraid of the defendants — instances of gang violence, for example, organized crime or sexual assault. The law attracted rare public attention when it was invoked to detain suspects in terrorism investigations after the Sept. 11 attacks, which critics said was an abuse.

In the last 10 years, the law has been used almost exclusively to help prosecute human-smuggling cases along the Mexican border. Nearly 20,000 witnesses were held in the Southern District of Texas, the Marshals' data shows, compared with just 14 in the Southern District of New York, which includes parts of New York City and some neighboring counties, where human smuggling cases are unusual.

John Scalia, a senior statistician at the U.S. Marshals Service, said he had a "high degree of certainty" that all the witnesses detained along the border were connected to human smuggling, though the agency does not formally track such information.

Material witnesses often end up boxed in by competing government priorities.

Judges, prosecutors and defense lawyers may want to keep them in the country long enough to testify, while immigration authorities may deport them before the criminal case is over. Prosecutors fear that the loss of witnesses — or even the use of video depositions — could weaken cases, because defendants have a constitutional right to confront people who testify against them. Just having witnesses on hand helps secure guilty pleas from smugglers.

Ryan Patrick, the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of Texas during the Trump administration, said it was hard to overstate the value of the witnesses, who often provide the only evidence in smuggling cases.

"The material witnesses are important because not only can I make a case directly against the driver of the truck, but they often can also give very valuable information leading backward into stash houses, how they got across the border, who is facilitating their crossing," he said.

Over the years, rulings by federal courts, including the Supreme Court, have upheld the statute. The Justice Department's Office of the Inspector General, after a 2014 review of the statute's use after the 2001 terrorist attacks, acknowledged in a summary of its findings that the law was both "powerful and sometimes controversial" because it conferred the extraordinary ability to detain someone indefinitely, "even though there may not be sufficient evidence to support charging the person with a crime."

Efforts in recent years to make the detention process less onerous include prerecorded testimony and the release of witnesses to relatives while they await trial. But the changes have been piecemeal.

In New Mexico, nearly all material witnesses are routinely released to stay with a family member or at a halfway house, said Barbara Mandel, the senior federal public defender in Las Cruces. Kenneth J. Gonzales, a federal district judge in New Mexico who previously served as a prosecutor, said released witnesses typically showed up for trial.

In Laredo, there is little time for individual considerations because of the volume of immigration cases. The Southern District of Texas detained just over a third of all material witnesses nationally since 2013, but accounted for 85 percent of those held for at least 90 days.

"Systems are overwhelmed, overloaded, triaging constantly," said David Donatti, a lawyer with the American Civil Liberties Union, who in 2020 sued the warden of the LaSalle detention center, arguing that the material witnesses had been jailed without due process. The suit was dismissed.

Lawyers say judges ultimately make the decisions that keep witnesses detained, but the chief judge for the Southern District of Texas, Randy Crane, said in an interview that the power to change the system lies with the Justice Department. "We push as hard as we can, but it's the executive branch that is the primary determinant of how long somebody is in custody," he said.

Desperate Straits

Days after Nohemy, fleeing gang violence in El Salvador, crossed the border last year, federal agents in Texas jailed her as a material witness. While in custody near McAllen, she encountered her smuggler, who threatened to kill her if she spoke to the authorities about him.

As soon as she got access to a telephone, she called her husband in a panic. "Don't tell anyone where I am," she recalled warning him. "Tell anyone who asks you that you don't know anything about my whereabouts."

Nohemy, 30, asked to be identified only by her middle name because of fears for her safety. The story of her journey from El Salvador, and her treatment there and in the United States, was corroborated through court documents, U.S. Marshals data and interviews with her husband and her immigration lawyer.

Nohemy said she never wanted to leave El Salvador, where she grew up, married and sent her three children to a school down the street. It had been a quiet, peaceful life until 2019, when a local gang began menacing her family after her oldest son, then 9, witnessed a murder.

Her husband and son left first. She and her two younger children waited to see if her husband got asylum, which would allow them to legally join him in the United States. For a while the gang activity disappeared and she was hopeful.

But early last year, the problems returned. One gang member sexually harassed her 10-year-old daughter, she said, and another threatened to kill her 7-year-old son. One night in March, men assaulted Nohemy outside her home.

She felt she could no longer wait and decided to make the trek to the United States illegally.

In custody, Nohemy said, she heard from her court-appointed lawyer only once, on her first day in jail — a complaint of inattentiveness that was echoed in interviews with other material witnesses.

"I was asking the officers if there's a process, if they could inform me," she said. "They would say they didn't know anything."

As time passed, she grew increasingly desperate. "I wanted to take my own life," she said.

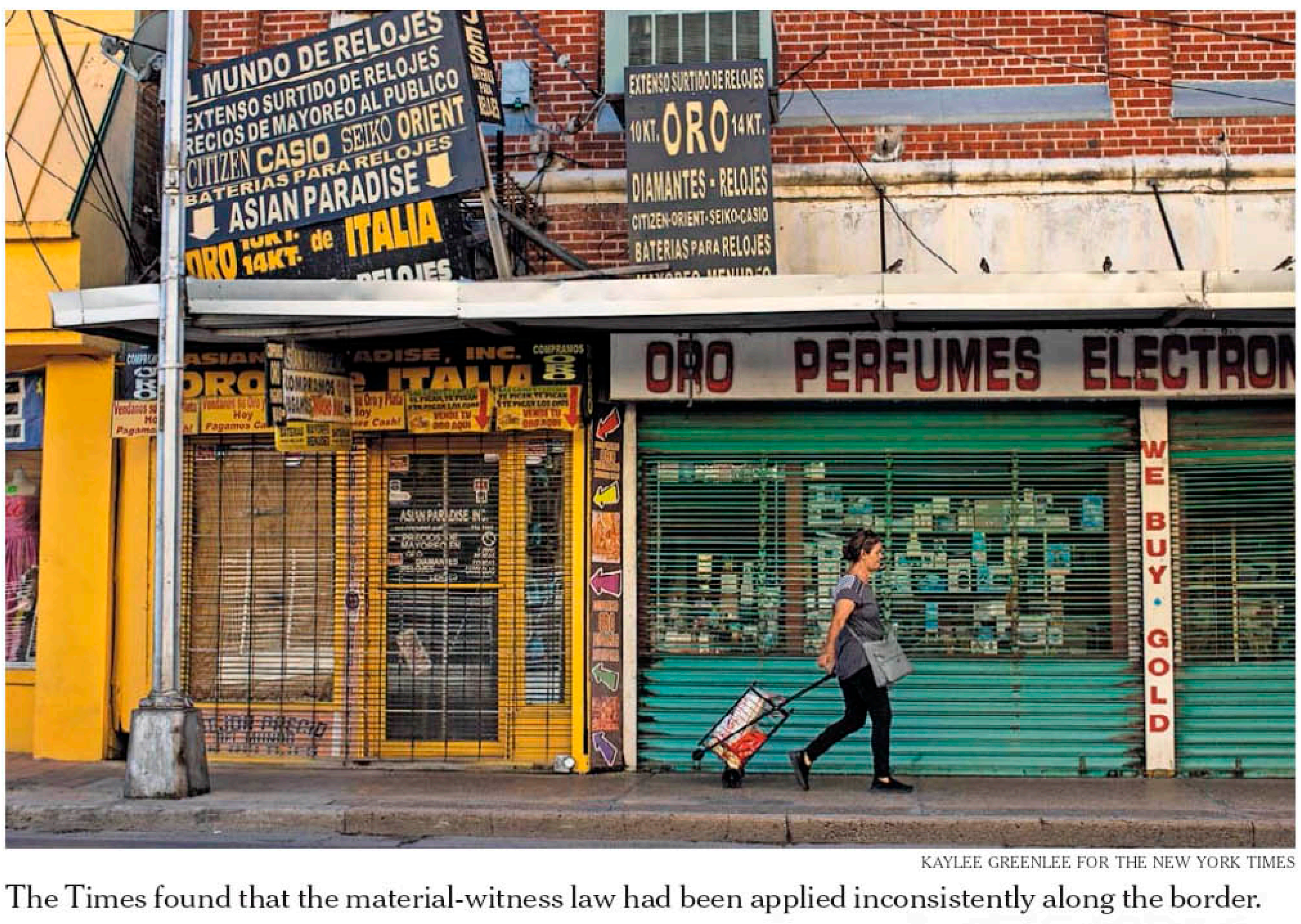
Ultimately, the smuggler pleaded guilty and Nohemy was not required to testify. Soon after her release, on the advice of her husband's immigration lawyer, Julia Toro, she joined him in another state, where he had a pending asylum case.

Many immigrants who are detained don't get such an opportunity because their access to lawyers and other resources is limited, said Jennifer Ibañez Whitlock, of the American Immigration Lawyers Association. Most witnesses' immigration cases are paused while they are in the criminal justice system, and resume only after they are released into immigration custody.

Those in power acknowledge the frustrations with the system. Mr. Patrick, the U.S. attorney under Mr. Trump, said that "everyone involved is trying to do the best they can with the resources that are there."

Does the system work?

"I don't think there is a right answer, other than it is the system that we have," Mr. Patrick said.

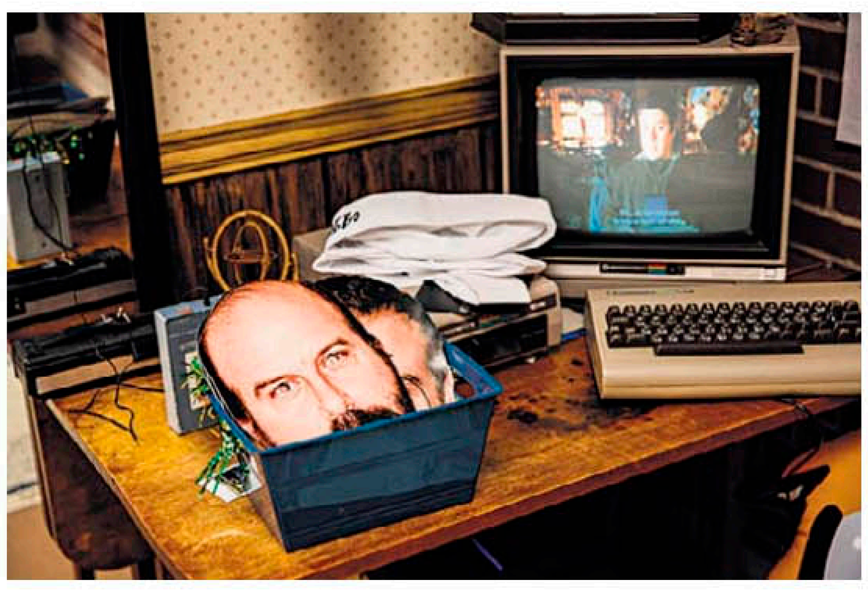


KAYLEE GREENLEE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Times found that the material-witness law had been applied inconsistently along the border.

Georgia Town Where 'Stranger Things' Is Shot Longs for Production

By RICK ROJAS



A working payphone is on display in the Stranger Tour headquarters in Jackson, Ga., left, along with masks of the actors, right. Center, the Butts County Courthouse is the Hawkins Library in the show. Below, Liz Bowman, a special effects artist for the show, has been giving tours of significant locations since the strikes began.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY KENDRICK BRINSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JACKSON, Ga. — Before a hole could pierce open a parallel dimension, unleashing murderous creatures like a Demogorgon into the placid existence of Hawkins, Ind., there needed to be another invasion.

Hawkins, the fictional home of "Stranger Things," had to take over the small town in Georgia where the hit Netflix show has been set since it debuted in 2016.

The old county courthouse in the center of Jackson, Ga., was turned into the Hawkins Library. An empty storefront became Melvald's General Store. On the other side of the town square, a marquee was added to the front of a restaurant, transforming it into Hawkins's movie theater.

But lately, Jackson has just been Jackson. "Stranger Things" retreated, along with most of the other movies and television shows filmed in Georgia, as the writers' strike that began in May and the actors' strike that followed in July reached far beyond Hollywood. The writers reached a tentative deal with studios in late September, and a ratification vote is underway. But actors are still negotiating with entertainment companies, keeping most TV and film production shut down.

As some of the nation's most generous film tax credits have nudged movie and television studios to invest heavily in Georgia over the last 15 years, a number of cities and towns have tried to get a piece of the business. But the state's embrace of the film industry has sometimes awkwardly collided with the conservative politics of its Republican leaders, who generally believe that resisting organized labor is a key to a welcoming business climate.

The economic pain inflicted by the work stoppages has prompted some elected officials, including the state's labor commissioner, to reconsider Georgia's relationship with the entertainment industry and the incentives that lured it in.

"I think those on strike better think long and hard about whether they think Georgia is a place where those incentives should stay in place," the commissioner, Bruce Thompson, said in an interview before the Writers Guild of America reached its tentative deal.

But in places like Butts County, home to Jackson, some local officials have been more loath to criticize the strikes.

Michael Brewer, whose job as deputy county manager includes serving as a liaison to the film and television industry, acknowledged the disruption, particularly for consumers. "But I'm also trying to see it from the industry point of view," he said.

"With inflation, with cost changes, the value of a dollar they made is not the same that it was," Mr. Brewer added. "A lot of things have changed over the last few years. They have to make sure their rights are protected."

The climate in Georgia, including its status as a right-to-work state where workers cannot be required to join a union as a condition of employment, has made organizing a challenge and left the writers and actors guilds with a limited footprint. The Writers Guild, which represents more than 11,000 screenwriters, has only a few dozen members in the state.

But many nonunion workers in Georgia's film industry have expressed solidarity with their striking peers, whose concerns included decreased pay in the streaming era and the threat posed by artificial intelligence, even as they have struggled to make ends meet in recent months. The state typically has dozens of movies and television shows in production, but in recent months, filming has been limited mostly to reality series, like "Hoarders" and "Love & Hip-Hop Atlanta."

"It's kind of hard not to be salty about it, but I understand — the strikes needed to happen," said Liz Bowman, who was a special effects artist for "Stranger Things" before the strikes began and has since been giving tours of locations from the show in Jackson. "I love the film industry, but I feel like sometimes you get these big studios and they forget that they have real people working for them."

The strikes have meant fewer tourists, who prefer to come to Jackson when "Stranger Things" is filming, hoping to see or possibly interact with actors from the show. The infusion of money that comes with production has dried up, taking away the corresponding boost for local businesses or the pay for shutting down stores or using homes for filming.

Jackson took advantage of its farmland and small-town appearance, interstate access and proximity to Atlanta to turn itself into something of a filming destination for movies and television shows.

The impact of the strikes reaches far beyond Hollywood.

Lake Jackson became a popular location, as did Bucksnort Road, a long, lonely strip of pavement between sprawling fields.

Some in town have capitalized on the "Stranger Things" ties. An escape room attraction opened with the show as its theme. Bradley's Olde Tavern — the stand-in for the Hawkins movie theater — has special drinks, like Demogorgon Blood (vodka, Dr Pepper, orange soda and grenadine).

The association with one of the hottest shows on television has not been to every resident's liking; some preferred the relative obscurity of Jackson before "Stranger Things." The show's supernatural themes and monsters have not been entirely warmly received in an overwhelmingly Christian community. When the old courthouse was still active, judges did not appreciate the commotion caused by productions and would dispatch the sheriff to quiet them down.

More broadly, there have been clashes between Georgia's conservative politics and a largely left-leaning industry. In 2019, actors and directors threatened boycotts after state lawmakers approved a bill severely restricting abortion access. And conservative leaders have said the industry is partly to blame for Georgia, once reliably Republican, becoming a swing state where Joseph R. Biden Jr. became the first Democratic presidential candidate to win since 1992.

But in Jackson, there has also been a recognition that the industry has injected vitality into a town that had been languishing. The spot where Hannah Thompson opened Hawkins Headquarters, a store on the town square with a "Stranger Things" theme, had been vacant for seven years.

"It's like a little bit of life has been breathed back in because of 'Stranger Things,'" she said.

Even with the turbulence, Ms. Bowman, 29, has felt somewhat lucky, relishing the opportunity to connect with fans of the show from as far away as the Philippines who stop in Jackson for the tour (pizza and snacks included).

"I know a lot of stunt people that are working for GameStop right now because they can't get jobs," she said. "I know a lot of camera people who straight up went to go work for Best Buy."

With the writers' strike over, there have been encouraging signs. Mr. Brewer said he had gotten inquiries from location scouts after months of silence. Ticket sales for the "Stranger Things" tour have surged, Ms. Thompson said.

They hope that "Stranger Things" will come back sooner rather than later, as the series is planning its final season. Filming was supposed to start in May, right around when the writers' strike got underway.

Sylvia Redic, Jackson's city manager, keeps hearing the same question: "When is Season 5?" she said. "And that's directly affected by the strike."

The strikes have meant fewer tourists, who prefer to visit when "Stranger Things" is filming.

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McCarthy Allies Blame Far Right For House Crisis During a War

By LUKE BROADWATER

WASHINGTON — When a majority of House Republicans opposed a successful push by right-wing rebels to oust Speaker Kevin McCarthy last week, many warned that a leaderless House would be paralyzed to respond to a domestic or international crisis.

Days later, Hamas militants attacked Israel in a brazen assault, prompting Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to declare, "We are at war."

Now, Republicans are fuming at the rebels in their ranks for rendering Congress impotent and ineffectual at a time when legislation and additional funding could be needed to help one of America's closest allies.

"It wasn't my idea to oust the speaker, and I thought it was dangerous," Representative Michael McCaul, Republican of Texas and chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said Sunday on CNN. "I look at the world and all the threats that are out there. What kind of message are we sending to our adversaries when we can't govern, when we're dysfunctional, when we don't even have a Speaker of the House?"

Representative Mike Lawler, Republican of New York, was even more direct, calling the removal of Mr. McCarthy "idiotic" and using a profanity to describe the "unmitigated" mess caused by Representative Matt Gaetz of Florida and the other Republican rebels who joined with Democrats to remove Mr. McCarthy.

"Uncertainty and chaos in the U.S. breeds vulnerability around the world," Mr. Lawler wrote on the social media site X, formerly known as Twitter, on Saturday. "The House should immediately reinstate McCarthy and stop screwing around."

Republicans were scrambling Sunday to determine who would become the next House speaker. Two leading candidates have emerged: Representative Steve Scalise of Louisiana, the No. 2 House Republican, and Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio, the Judiciary Committee chairman.

Both men are seen as more conservative than Mr. McCarthy. Mr. Jordan, a co-founder of the ultraconservative House Freedom Caucus, has the endorsement of former President Donald J. Trump.

On Fox News, Mr. Jordan said Sunday that his first move as speaker would be to help Israel.

"I want to give them what they need to win," Mr. Jordan pledged on the show "Sunday Morning Futures."

Mr. Scalise also pledged full support.

"Make no mistake: The United States will always stand with Israel, our greatest ally in the Middle East," he wrote on social media. "They must defend themselves as their citizens are slaughtered by Hamas terrorists. They have our full support and our prayers."

The United States already provides Israel more than $3 billion in military assistance every year, but the House would need to elect a new speaker should more funds be needed.

J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS
Representative Jim Jordan said his first move as House speaker would be to provide assistance to Israel.

EVELYN HOCKSTEIN/REUTERS
"Make no mistake: The United States will always stand with Israel," said Representative Steve Scalise.

"There will likely be a need for some additional appropriations," Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the top Democrat in the House, said on CNN, adding, "Congress should certainly be prepared to do that sooner, rather than later."

Mr. Jeffries urged House Republicans to agree on a speaker so that "we can move forward to get the business of the American people done" both domestically and in support of Israel.

Republicans plan to have a closed-door meeting Tuesday to hear from both candidates, with a floor vote expected on Wednesday. Aides have said the process could stretch out longer if Republicans fail to unite behind a candidate.

Throughout the weekend, some of Mr. McCarthy's staff members posted on social media, criticizing the hard-right members who removed their boss from his position.

Additional funding could be needed to help Israel.

"Israel is at war," Mr. McCarthy's deputy spokesman, Chad Gilmartin, wrote on the X platform. "Americans have likely been killed and are being held hostage. Congress is essentially paralyzed without a House speaker."

Mr. Gaetz, who led the rebellion against Mr. McCarthy, rejected the idea that he had caused chaos and paralysis endangering the United States and its allies. He said he remained undecided on whether to back Mr. Jordan or Mr. Scalise, but said he would support whichever candidate a majority of Republicans backed.

"I don't think that other countries think about Kevin McCarthy's speakership quite as much as Kevin McCarthy does," Mr. Gaetz said on NBC's "Meet the Press." "We'll have a new speaker next week, and we'll be prepared to do our work."

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDRES KUDACKI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
About 1,000 pro-Palestinian and pro-Israel demonstrators rallied at the United Nations, left, and in Times Square, right, on Sunday. The Israeli consulate on Second Avenue was also the site of protests.

Violence in Israel and Gaza Spawns Impassioned Protests Across Manhattan

*This article is by **Chelsia Rose Marcius**, **Eric Berger** and **Michael D. Regan**.*

Pro-Palestinian and pro-Israel demonstrators faced off in contentious but nonviolent protests in Manhattan on Sunday as a full-scale conflict erupted along the Gaza Strip following the Hamas attack on Israel.

About 1,000 protesters gathered early in the afternoon in two locations, in Times Square and at the United Nations headquarters. The demonstrations were among dozens of largely peaceful protests across the United States, with events in Chicago and Atlanta drawing hundreds of people.

But tensions rose in New York City later on Sunday afternoon as roughly 500 pro-Palestinian demonstrators and supporters of Israel confronted one another outside the Israeli consulate in Midtown Manhattan.

They yelled at and taunted one another from either side of Second Avenue near East 42nd Street where, at one point, they stormed the barricades that the police had put in place and filtered into the road. Police officers held out their arms to keep each group at bay.

Several pro-Israeli protesters verbally threatened a few people on the Palestinian side, who then snatched an Israeli flag and ripped it apart. Israeli demonstrators shouted "terrorists," and the pro-Palestinians replied "Allahu akbar."

Ariella Carmell, 27, of Crown Heights in Brooklyn, said she has family members in Israel. Her fears for their survival brought her to tears.

"I always try to think of both sides," said Ms. Carmell. But the "people kidnapped, people killed, they could be my family."

"I just can't bear the idea of" losing them, she added.

Earlier, in Times Square, about 300 demonstrators joined a pro-Palestinian rally organized by several socialist and pro-Palestinian groups, including the Palestinian Youth Movement and Party for Socialism and Liberation. It was promoted on social media by the New York City branch of Democratic Socialists of America.

One of the demonstrators was Mohammad Jarrar, a 33-year-old Queens resident, who said his family was displaced by Israel from Palestinian land in 1948 and 1967. "All the Palestinians want to do is for people to return to their homes," he said.

Mr. Jarrar, who still has relatives on the West Bank, said he was saddened by the conflict. But "when you feel that the whole world is against you," he said, "you flip the table on the bully."

Dozens of supporters of Israel also turned out for the demonstration. Omer Graif, 27, a computer engineering intern at Cornell University who is from Israel and served in the Israel Defense Forces for five years, said the government has called him to rejoin the military following the attacks by Hamas.

Mr. Graif said he supports Palestinians in their longstanding fight for international recognition. But he denounced the attacks on Saturday, which he said killed several of his friends.

"They should have a country," but they should not call for it "on this day," Mr. Graif said.

Nearby, Sarah Schulman, an English professor at Northwestern University and a member of Jewish Voice for Peace, a group that supports the boycott, divestment and sanctions movement against Israel, said she condemns "any acts of brutality or murder against civilians."

"Decades of brutality towards Palestinians, in which people have been murdered, incarcerated and displaced unjustly have made conditions untenable, and I believe that they exploded," she added.

On the east side of Manhattan, near the U.N. headquarters, about 800 demonstrators stood behind police barricades with signs that read "Free Palestine from Hamas" and "I Stand With Israel," while tourists three blocks away posed for photographs with the sprawling complex.

There, Tsaffi Shomer said she arrived in the United States from Herzliya, near Tel Aviv, last week on a trip to see family. Ms. Shomer, 68, is now unsure when she will return. "It's so strange to be away when things are happening," she said. But she said the demonstration in New York gave her "a good feeling and hope and strength that we're not alone."

In Atlanta on Sunday, at least 80 pro-Palestinian protesters called for the end of U.S. aid to Israel outside the Israeli consulate general. In Chicago, police bomb dogs sniffed the streets and sidewalks as at least 400 pro-Palestinian protesters rallied along West Madison Street near South Canal Street.

Loren Mindell, a Jewish supporter of the Palestinian cause, held a sign that read "Jews for Liberation." Ms. Mindell, a 39-year-old librarian from Chicago, said, "Jewish liberation can't predicate on oppressing other people."

Brian Bean, 43, a social worker who brought his 5-year-old son to the Chicago event, said that the "loss of life on both sides is sad."

Reporting was contributed by Lola Fadulu, Robert Chiarito, Lauren McCarthy, Alessandro Marazzi Sassoon and Eliza Fawcett.

California Could Install Speed Cameras as Deaths Of Pedestrians Increase

By HEATHER KNIGHT

California likes to think of itself as a cutting-edge lab for policymaking, a place where laws get passed first and then copied around the country.

But for years, it has banned a basic measure used in many cities to slow drivers: the humble speed camera. In the state that practically invented car culture and the thrill of hitting the open road, speed cameras have faced steep resistance.

That could now change, as a bill to install cameras on a trial basis has landed on Gov. Gavin Newsom's desk at a moment when pedestrian deaths are spiking nationwide, but especially in California.

Fueled by faster, riskier drivers, bigger vehicles and less police enforcement of traffic laws, pedestrian deaths nationwide rose 77 percent to 7,624 deaths from 2010 to 2021, according to federal data.

In California alone, 1,100 pedestrians died in crashes last year, according to the Governors Highway Safety Association, a nonprofit that represents states' safety offices.

The legislation on Governor Newsom's desk, which he has until Oct. 14 to sign or veto, would allow a handful of cities including San Francisco and Los Angeles to install cameras on a trial basis. A spokeswoman for the governor said he doesn't comment on pending legislation.

If signed, the legislation would allow California to join 205 communities in 21 states where speed cameras are in use and have been widely credited with slowing drivers.

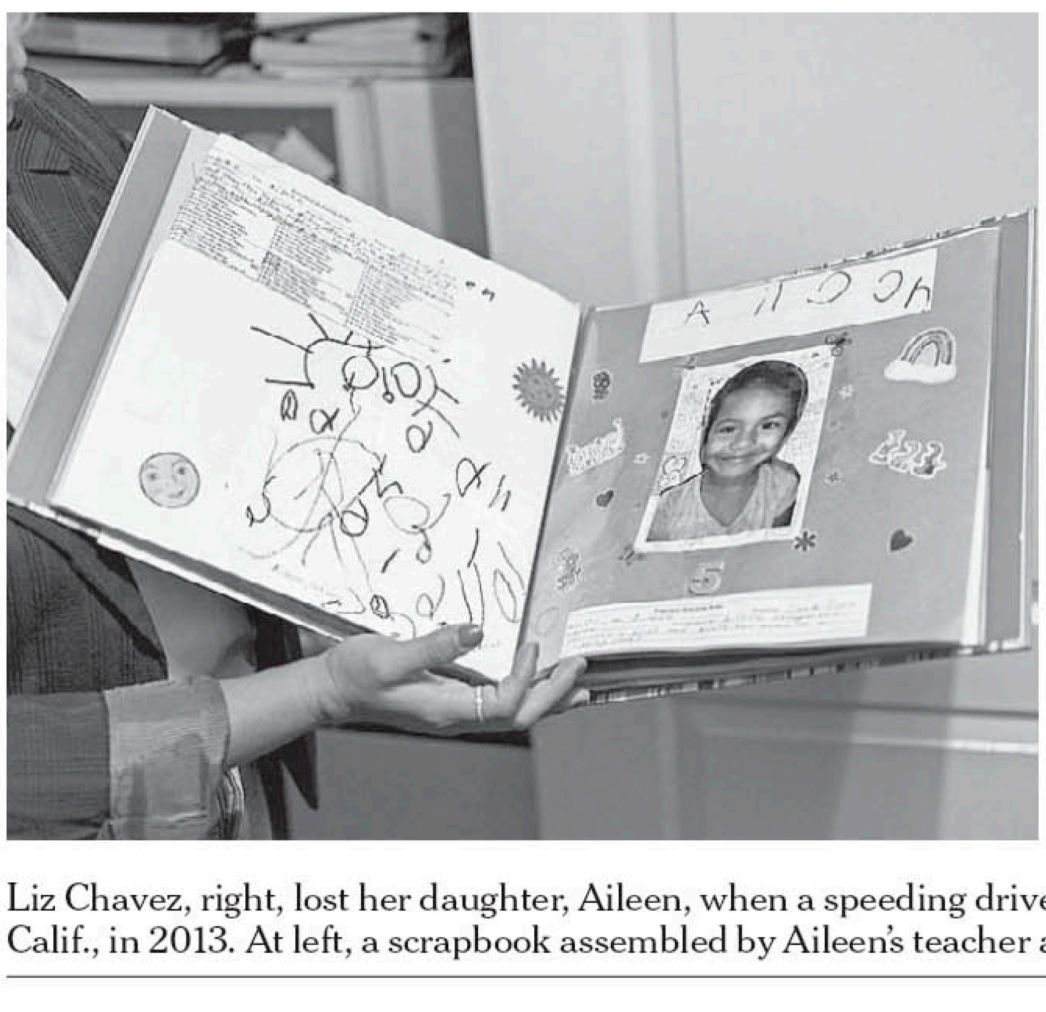
Some of the loudest supporters of the bill are families of victims who have been killed by cars.

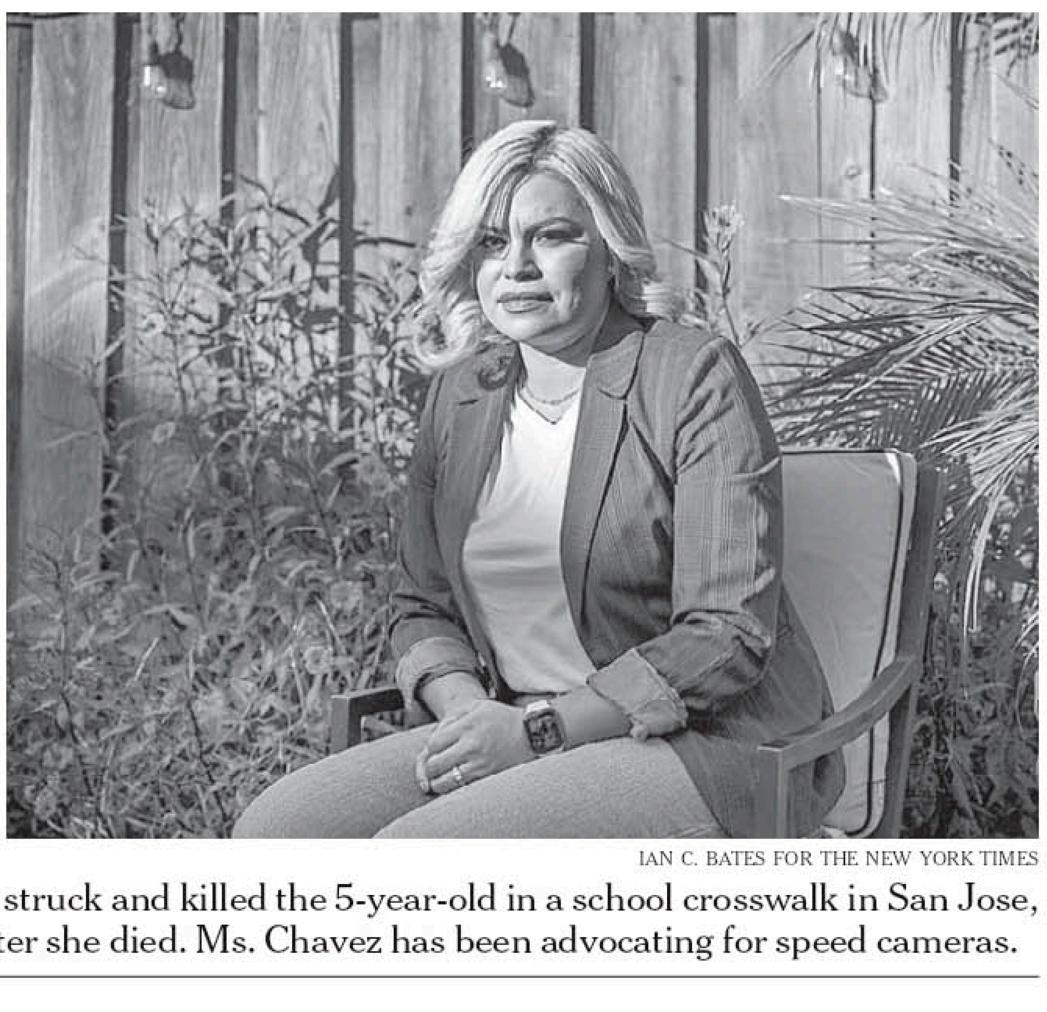
Liz Chavez struggles to talk about the worst day of her life: May 13, 2013, when a speeding driver in a Lexus S.U.V. struck and killed her 5-year-old daughter in a school crosswalk in San Jose, Calif.

That afternoon, Aileen and her younger sister Ariana were walking with Ms. Chavez's sister-in-law to pick up their older sister from school. The driver struck all three, instantly killing Aileen. Ms. Chavez's sister-in-law ended up in the hospital with broken ribs, perforated organs and a concussion. Ariana also suffered a concussion.

Ms. Chavez, who still cries when saying her daughter's name, has photos of Aileen around her home and talks about her often to her youngest child, 8-year-old Alexis. She tells him about how Aileen was a shy, quiet girl who loved soccer and gospel music and carried a Bible with her wherever she went.

"Even though he didn't get to meet her, he says he misses her," Ms. Chavez said.




IAN C. BATES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Liz Chavez, right, lost her daughter, Aileen, when a speeding driver struck and killed the 5-year-old in a school crosswalk in San Jose, Calif., in 2013. At left, a scrapbook assembled by Aileen's teacher after she died. Ms. Chavez has been advocating for speed cameras.

Ms. Chavez has since traveled to the Capitol building in Sacramento repeatedly to try to convince politicians to allow speed cameras.

"It might not reduce the number of deaths to zero," she said. "But this does actually work."

Previous efforts dating back six years have failed after opponents expressed concerns about privacy and equity.

Human Rights Watch sent a letter earlier this year to the Senate saying speed cameras would increase the surveillance state and issue fines to people who can't afford them. "Communities need investments in public transportation and traffic calming infrastructure — not cameras — to keep them safe," the group said in the letter.

In 2014, the city of San Francisco committed to a plan to eliminate traffic deaths by the end of 2024. With just about a year left to that deadline, the goal remains far out of reach.

In 2014, 31 people died in traffic crashes, with 21 of them being pedestrians. Last year, 39 people, including 20 pedestrians, died in collisions.

So far this year there have been 14 pedestrian deaths — including a 4-year-old girl being pushed by her father in a stroller near the Giants baseball stadium in August.

"The fact that so many innocent lives are lost from something that's preventable is honestly criminal and heartbreaking," said Jodie Medeiros, executive director of Walk San Francisco, a pedestrian advocacy nonprofit.

The speed camera program would not be run by the police, but by cities' transportation departments.

Drivers going 11 miles per hour above the posted speed limit would receive tickets, with fines starting at $50 and increasing for higher speeds. They would be like parking tickets, with no points being added to one's driving record. The program would allow cities to reduce fines for low-income people or allow them to complete community service hours instead.

Other cities like New York have had speed cameras for years. A decade ago, Juan Martinez, a former policy director in New York City's Department of Transportation, helped pioneer the cameras in school zones. There are now more than 2,000 around the city.

As drivers became aware of them, fewer tickets were issued, and the cameras were proven to lower drivers' speeds, said Mr. Martinez. On average, speeding at fixed camera locations has dropped 73 percent since the cameras were installed.

Pedestrian deaths are still a major issue in the city, but the number has come down since cameras were introduced. Last year, 118 pedestrians died in New York City, compared with 184 in 2013.

"If you care about preventing people from getting killed in crashes, the thing you do is focus on speed," Mr. Martinez said.

After 128 Years in a Funeral Home, a Beloved Mummy Is Laid to Rest

By REMY TUMIN

ANDREW CABALLERO-REYNOLDS/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The coffin of Stoneman Willie, as he was known, on Saturday in Reading, Pa. The man died in 1895. The city discovered his real name and gave him a proper burial.

For 128 years, he has been known only as Stoneman Willie, a figure lying in an open coffin in a Reading, Pa., funeral home, leathery and as hardened as his nickname suggests.

Little was known about him, other than he was picked up while drunkenly walking the streets of Reading one night in October 1895 and again, days later, for breaking into a boardinghouse. A prison warden noted that he stood 5-foot-11 and had sandy brown hair and a mustache.

Willie appears to have lived at life's margins but became a legend in death. Generations of schoolchildren and other visitors have paid their respects at the Theo C. Auman Inc. Funeral Home, which has cared for Willie's remains since he died in custody shortly after his second arrest.

On Saturday, under gray skies, Willie was finally given two things that had been denied him for more than a century: a proper burial and a name.

Kyle Blankenbiller, the funeral home's director, said researchers are near certain that Stoneman Willie was James Murphy, a New Yorker of Irish descent who was in Reading for a convention.

Mr. Blankenbiller acknowledged that, clinically speaking, Willie is a mummy. The mystery of his identity has only added to his lore. He has been treated as a ghost story, a freak show and a roadside attraction over the years, but on Saturday, Willie was interred among other sons and daughters of Reading at the Forest Hills Memorial Park cemetery.

A granite tombstone was placed at his gravesite with both of his names, and a large informational bronze relief detailing his story will eventually be installed, too.

A tourist in town for a convention

He may have been cast into a caricature, but before James Murphy became Stoneman Willie, he was just a tourist.

It is believed that he was in Reading for a state convention of firefighters. A known alcoholic, he was arrested twice that week — on Oct. 1 for public drunkenness, and on Oct. 7 for burglarizing the Morris Brown Boarding House.

Willie gave his age as 37 and his name either as James Penn or William Penn, which could explain how he got his nickname, said George Meiser IX, the Berks County historian.

Willie died in the Berks County Prison on Nov. 19. The official cause of death was kidney failure. But because he used a fake name, his family was never notified and his body was released to Mr. Auman's funeral home.

At the time, Mr. Auman was experimenting with a new technique developed during the Civil War for preserving bodies. But the embalming formula he used, found in a German medical journal that detailed how to preserve meat, did way more than it was supposed to. Testing later revealed that the formula he used included high levels of formalin, cyanide and arsenic.

The result, Mr. Blankenbiller said, is that "if you touch him, he's like stone, he's hard as wood."

"He weighs nothing," he said. "He's that petrified."

Auman's Funeral Home had considered burying Willie before but a plan began to coalesce just before the start of the pandemic. Mr. Blankenbiller and local historians set to work figuring out who Willie really was, combing through prison and funeral home records and other documents to piece together Willie's story.

Mr. Auman had always identified him as James Murphy, but Mr. Blankenbiller said that identity had never been definitively confirmed.

Part of the confusion arose from the fact that Mr. Auman had prepared the body of another prisoner named Michael Pohouski around the same time. Local cemetery records showed that Pohouski was "definitely buried," Mr. Blankenbiller said.

Mr. Blankenbiller said Willie had mentioned to his cellmate that he had a brother and a sister in Manhattan and another sibling in Brooklyn.

Mr. Blankenbiller was able to find evidence that one of those relatives, Donald Murphy, was living in Manhattan at the time. Once Mr. Blankenbiller was able to definitively say that Pohouski was not Willie, he knew he had the right guy.

'A rite of passage'

James Murphy may have been from New York, but Willie has been a son of Reading for 128 years.

Alexa Freyman, 32, grew up in Reading hearing stories about Willie from her parents and grandparents. There were tales, she said, about how his fingernails and hair were still growing.

Ms. Freyman finally got a look for herself in May when the funeral home announced plans to bury Willie.

"It sounds silly but it's something you can share with your parents and grandparents, and it's something they shared with their grandparents and parents," she said. "It's morbid, but it was something that brought us together and gave us some sort of reference historically to who we were and what happened here then."

Mr. Meiser said he first saw Willie in 1949 when he and a few of his friends from junior high school asked to see him.

"It was a rite of passage," he said. "Everyone had to go see Stoneman Willie."

In the days leading up to the burial, visitors had one last chance to pay their respects to Willie as he lay in repose in a coffin at Auman's, dressed in a tuxedo that dates to the 1890s and likely weighs more than he does.

There were signs, however, that Willie wasn't ready to go just yet.

Last Sunday, Willie was the centerpiece of a parade celebrating Reading's 275th anniversary. But the elevator to get Willie from the funeral home's second floor broke down. Then the hearse overheated and had to be towed to a mechanic. Arrangements were made for Willie to make his way through the city in a motorcycle-drawn hearse. Halfway through the parade, the motorcycle died, and a backup hearse had to be called.

"As much as we're sad about it, we really feel we honored him in the way that he deserved after all of this time," Mr. Blankenbiller said after the burial service.

It rained on Saturday morning but the sun later came out as Mr. Blankenbiller and other staff members headed back to the funeral home. They took it as one more sign.

Fake Loan to Campaign Could Mean Real Trouble for Santos

By GRACE ASHFORD

JEENAH MOON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

George Santos seemed to be implicated in a scheme that his treasurer admitted in her guilty plea.

Of all of the revelations to emerge from the federal prosecution of Representative George Santos's treasurer, the most outrageous is the existence of a $500,000 loan that did not in fact exist.

The fictional loan goes to the heart of one of the most vexing questions surrounding Mr. Santos since he was elected to Congress last year: How did a man of seemingly modest means suddenly accrue enough money to lend his campaign a half-million dollars?

The answer, it turns out, is simple: He did not. And that fact could have serious ramifications for his case.

In May, Mr. Santos, a New York Republican, was charged with 13 felonies in three unrelated financial schemes, to which he has pleaded not guilty. On Thursday, his campaign treasurer, Nancy Marks, pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy related to her oversight of Mr. Santos's finances.

It is clear that prosecutors see a link between Ms. Marks's criminal activity and Mr. Santos. The same team of U.S. attorneys handled their cases; the proceedings share the same court docket number and were overseen by the same judge, Joanna Seybert.

Mr. Santos has not been charged with falsifying the loan or with other campaign finance violations, and Ms. Marks's lawyer has said that she is not cooperating with prosecutors. But Mr. Santos's proximity to the criminal activity admitted by Ms. Marks would seem to leave him vulnerable to additional charges.

In Ms. Marks's charging papers, prosecutors laid out a scheme centered on Mr. Santos's desire to qualify for a Republican campaign committee program that offered candidates logistical, political and financial support. In order to be considered, candidates needed to raise $250,000 in donations in a single quarter.

In court papers filed on Thursday against Ms. Marks, prosecutors portrayed Mr. Santos, who was described as "co-conspirator #1," as "lost and desperate" at the end of 2021. Having failed to raise the necessary $250,000 by the end of 2021, they say he resorted to a familiar strategy: He bent the truth.

Citing text messages and emails, prosecutors said that Mr. Santos and Ms. Marks agreed to file reports that said the campaign had raised the money it needed to after all, by including fake contributions from relatives who had never actually donated.

"These are the donations we spoke about last night before we went to sleep," reads a text from Mr. Santos to Ms. Marks that included a list of relatives and donation amounts.

Three days later, Ms. Marks texted Mr. Santos, court records say, seeking the "list of donors — your family." Mr. Santos sent it along once more, this time with the family members' addresses and occupations.

The false donations, over $50,000 in all, allowed Mr. Santos to be selected for the program.

Three months later, in March 2022, prosecutors say that Mr. Santos's campaign sought additional support of the national party committee and again turned to lies to make their case.

In a presentation the Santos campaign made to the national party, court records say, the campaign reported that a "key factor" of Mr. Santos's success was the "[p]ersonal and political capital that will allow for a fully funded operation."

Here, prosecutors say, is where the $500,000 loan came in. In its April 2022 quarterly report, Mr. Santos's campaign filings said that he lent the campaign half a million dollars that prosecutors said was never deposited and that Ms. Marks acknowledged last week was a fiction. Even so, it bolstered his image as a wealthy, self-funding candidate and helped the campaign appear more robust and well-funded than it was — dissuading would-be primary challengers.

The loan had another potential benefit. As a member of Congress running for re-election, Mr. Santos would have been able to continue to fund-raise. If he raised enough, he could "repay" himself the fictional loan — potentially pocketing $500,000 in contributions.

The loans Mr. Santos made to his campaign have long drawn scrutiny. In his initial House run in 2020, he reported having lent himself $80,000, though his financial disclosure said his annual salary was just $55,000, and he had no savings account.

But in 2022, he reported a startling turn in fortune. He claimed to have made $750,000 in salary plus more than a million dollars each year in dividends from his company, the Devolder Organization — even though the company had no visible footprint or website.

Nathan Reilly, a former prosecutor with the Eastern District of New York's public integrity section, said that if Mr. Santos is not able or willing to negotiate a plea, prosecutors might bring additional charges.

Mr. Santos has remained quiet about Ms. Marks's conviction. His lawyer, Joseph Murray, declined to answer reporters' questions in Central Islip on Thursday.

On Friday afternoon, Mr. Santos used social media to thank his supporters while striking a defiant tone. "I've never run from tough questions, and I never intend to do so," he said. "I dare anyone to find an elected who engages with the people more than I do."

He is due back in court on Oct. 27.

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Opinion

The New York Times

COLUMNIST | THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

This Hamas-Israeli Fight Will Send Shock Waves Far Away

WHEN I NEED THE most accurate analysis about Israel, the first call I always make is to my longtime friend and reporting partner there, Nahum Barnea, a veteran Yediot newspaper columnist. When I called him on Saturday afternoon for his read on the Hamas attack on Israel, I was stunned by his first response: "This is the worst day that I can remember in military terms in the history of Israel, including the blunder of the Yom Kippur War, which was terrible."

Nahum is a careful reporter who has covered every major event in Israel for the past half century, and when he explained his rationale, I realized it was an understatement.

This is not your usual Hamas-Israel dust-up. The Gaza-Israel border is only 37 miles long, but the shock waves this war will unleash will not only thrust Israel and the Palestinians of Gaza into turmoil, but will also slam into Ukraine and Saudi Arabia and most likely Iran.

Why? Any prolonged Israel-Hamas war could divert more U.S. military equipment needed by Kyiv to Tel Aviv, and it will make the proposed Saudi-Israeli normalization deal impossible — for now. And if it turns out that Iran encouraged the Hamas attack to scuttle that Israeli-Saudi deal, it could raise tensions between Israel and Iran and Tehran's Lebanese proxy, Hezbollah, and also between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Already, Israeli forces and Hezbollah on Sunday exchanged artillery and rocket fire.

This is an incredibly dangerous moment on multiple fronts.

But going back to Nahum's point: Why is this war such a disaster for Israel, worse than the Yom Kippur surprise attack from Egypt and Syria, which happened 50 years and one day earlier? For starters, said Nahum, there is the sheer humiliation of it for the Israeli military: "In 1973 we were attacked by the biggest Arab army, Egypt."

This time Israel was invaded in 22 locations outside the Gaza Strip, including communities as far as 15 miles inside Israel, by a military force belonging to "the equivalent of Luxembourg." And yet this tiny force not only invaded Israel, overwhelming Israeli border troops; it took Israeli hostages back to Gaza across that same border — a border where Israel had spent roughly $1 billion erecting a barrier that was supposed to be virtually impenetrable. That is a shocking blow to Israel's deterrent capabilities.

Second, he noted, Israel has always prided itself on the ability of its intelligence services to penetrate Hamas and Palestinian militants in the West Bank and get early warnings. For the past few weeks, as anyone following the news from Israel knows, Hamas was conducting what appeared to be practice maneuvers for just this kind of attack all along the Gaza border.

But it appears that Israeli intelligence misinterpreted the moves as Hamas just trying to mess with the heads of the Israeli military and make commanders nervous. Israeli intelligence apparently thought Hamas desperately needed more financial aid from Qatar, which has given Hamas over $1 billion in aid since 2012, and work permits for Gazans to work in Israel — and both Israel and Qatar have always required a quiet border in return.

Hamas instead launched an incredibly complex and sophisticated invasion from land and sea.

But now we get to the really terrible part for Israel. Hamas was not only able to cross into Israel and attack Israeli communities and army bases, but it was also able to kidnap a number of Israelis — reportedly including some older people, children and at least one soldier — and take them back to Gaza. Associated Press photos "showed an abducted elderly Israeli woman being brought back into Gaza on a golf cart by Hamas gunmen and another woman squeezed between two fighters on a motorcycle," The A.P. reported. Pictures of Israeli bodies taken to Gaza and being dragged into the streets were circulating on the internet.

TAMIR KALIFA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The attack is disastrous for Israel but may also touch Saudi Arabia, Ukraine, Iran and Russia.

The U.S. State Department said it was investigating reports that some Americans were killed or taken hostage.

This is going to be a huge problem for Israel. In a previous term as prime minister, in 2011, Benjamin Netanyahu traded 1,027 Palestinian prisoners, including 280 serving life sentences, to get one Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit, back from Hamas in Gaza. Bibi may be called on to empty every Israeli prison of Palestinians if Hamas is holding older people and children in Gaza, Nahum noted.

Netanyahu promised on Saturday to deliver a crushing blow to Hamas in Gaza, but what if Hamas is holding Israeli civilians who could be used as human shields? That will curb Israel's room for retaliation.

"Everything the army does in Gaza going forward will require them to take into account the impact it could have on the lives of civilian hostages," Nahum said.

Finally, Nahum noted, the top ranks of the military and the prime minister, who leads the security cabinet, know right now that down the road there will probably be some kind of commission of inquiry into how the Hamas invasion was allowed to happen.

So they must now conduct this war, make excruciating decisions about trade-offs among deterrence, retaliation, getting hostages back from Hamas and maybe even invading Gaza, knowing all the time that even if they manage all of these perfectly, some kind of inquiry awaits them. It is not easy to think straight under those conditions.

As this column has been pointing out ever since he came back to power, Netanyahu's politics of division have done terrible damage to Israel. He prioritized a judicial putsch to strip the Israeli Supreme Court of its power to oversee his government — over all other priorities. In the process he fractured Israeli society and its military. And people have been warning for months how dangerous this could be.

But as bad as Netanyahu has been for Israel, Hamas has been a deadly curse for the Palestinian people since it took over Gaza in 2007. The billion-plus dollars in aid that it received from Qatar alone over the years could have gone into building Gaza into a productive society, with decent schools, universities and infrastructure, that might have been a model for a future Palestinian state with the West Bank. Instead, Hamas has devoted most of its energies and resources to digging tunnels into Israel and building rockets to try to destroy a vastly more powerful enemy, depriving Gazans of any chance to realize their full potential, via a government that is decent, democratic and productive.

Why did Hamas launch this war now, without any immediate provocation? One has to wonder if it was not on behalf of the Palestinian people but rather at the behest of Iran, an important supplier of money and arms to Hamas, to help prevent the budding normalization of relations between Saudi Arabia, Iran's rival, and Israel. Such a deal, as it was being drawn up, would also benefit the more moderate West Bank Palestinian Authority — by delivering to it a huge infusion of cash from Saudi Arabia, as well as curbs on Israeli settlements in the West Bank and other advances to preserve a two-state solution. As a result, West Bank leaders might have earned a desperately needed boost of legitimacy from the Palestinian masses, threatening the legitimacy of Hamas.

That U.S.-Saudi-Israel deal also would have been a diplomatic earthquake that would have most likely have require Netanyahu to jettison the most extreme members of his cabinet in return for forging an alliance between Israel and the Sunni-led states of the Persian Gulf against Iran. Altogether, it would have been one of the biggest shifts in the tectonic plates of the region in 75 years.

In the wake of this Hamas attack, that deal is now in the deep freeze, as the Saudis have had to link themselves more closely than ever with Palestinian interests, not just their own.

Indeed, within hours of the Hamas invasion, Saudi Arabia issued a statement saying, according to Al Arabiya network: "The kingdom is closely following up on the unprecedented developments between a number of Palestinian factions and the Israeli occupying forces," adding that it has "repeatedly warned of the consequences of [the deterioration] of the situation as a result of the occupation as well as of depriving the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights and of [not halting] systematic provocations against their holy [sites]."

I am watching how the Hamas-Israel earthquake will shake up another earthquake.

Ukraine was already dealing with the temblors in the U.S. government. The toppling of the speaker of the House, combined with an increasingly vocal minority of Republican lawmakers — shockingly to me — coming out against any more economic and military aid to Ukraine has created a political mess that has resulted, for now, in no more U.S. aid for Ukraine being approved. If Israel is about to invade Gaza and embark on a long war, Ukraine will have to worry about competition from Tel Aviv for Patriot missiles as well as 155-millimeter artillery shells and other basic armaments that Ukraine desperately needs more of and Israel surely will, too.

Vladimir Putin has noticed. On Thursday in the Black Sea resort of Sochi, he said that Ukraine was being propped up "thanks to multibillion donations that come each month." He added, "Just imagine the aid stops tomorrow." Ukraine "will live for only a week when they run out of ammo."

Can anything good come from this terrible new Hamas-Israel war? It's far too early to say, but another longtime Israeli friend and analyst I trust, Victor Friedman (no relation), who teaches behavioral science at Jezreel Valley College in central Israel and knows the Israeli Arab community very well, wrote me late Saturday, saying: "This horrid situation is still an opportunity, just like the Yom Kippur War turned out to be an opportunity that ended with a peace agreement with Egypt. The only real victory will be if what happens next — probably Israel going into Gaza — creates conditions for a real, stable settlement with the Palestinians." In light of what the Palestinians just did, he said, they can "claim some 'victory,' no matter what happens next." The point is, he added, 'Someone needs to think beyond more force and more force."

Personally, I do not believe that Hamas can ever be a partner for a secure peace with Israel. Hamas has had way too many chances for way too many years to prove that the responsibilities of governing in Gaza would moderate its goal of destroying the Jewish state. It turns out to be interested only in preserving its grip on Gaza and being ready to serve as a cat's paw for Iran.

But the Palestinian Authority can be a partner. So if there is going to be an Israeli invasion of Gaza to try to destroy Hamas, it has to be paired with a political initiative that empowers and helps to strengthen that Palestinian Authority so we can forge, as Victor put it, "a settlement that provides all sides with something they can live with. Otherwise, sooner or later, we will be right back in the same situation — only worse. That was the true lesson of the Yom Kippur War."

COLUMNIST | BRET STEPHENS

The Yom Kippur War Led to Peace. This One Can, Too.

IT'S EASY TO NOTE the parallels between Hamas's attack on Israel on Saturday morning and the Yom Kippur War, which began 50 years ago Friday.

Now, as then, Israel seems to have been taken almost wholly by surprise by an enemy whose capabilities it appears to have badly underestimated. Now, as then, Israelis have sustained losses — at least 700 are believed dead, over 2,200 wounded and dozens of hostages taken — that go far beyond anything they suffered in recent years. Now, as then, there looms the prospect of a wider and deadlier war — the last time with the Soviet Union, this time with Iran and its proxies in Syria and Lebanon.

Now, as then, Israel's military, intelligence and political leaders can soon expect hard questions about their failure to anticipate this attack. The Yom Kippur War helped end the Labor Party's iron grip on power in Israel. This war might yet do the same for the Likud's.

There are parallels on the Arab side, too. Like Egypt's and Syria's in 1973, Hamas's aims in this war almost surely have strategic purposes that go beyond killing, maiming and terrorizing Israelis.

Hamas is attacking Israeli civilians in a way that is clearly calculated to provoke a devastating Israeli response, one that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu promises is coming. Large numbers of Palestinian casualties will probably derail a peace deal between Israel and Saudi Arabia — not just by inflaming Muslim opposition to the Jewish state but also by giving Israel's far right a stronger argument to oppose any accommodations with Palestinians as a price of the deal.

But there are additional parallels that augur less well for Hamas.

In 1973, Israel was able to recover from its initial setbacks to destroy its enemies on the battlefield, leaving them incapable of ever again posing a serious threat to Israel. And, with the help of U.S. diplomacy from both Republican and Democratic administrations, the Yom Kippur War led to the 1978 Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt.

This war can lead to a similar outcome among Jerusalem, Riyadh and Washington, provided all sides adopt the same watchword: Liberate Gaza.

What does that mean?

In January 2009, I interviewed Netanyahu for The Wall Street Journal, right as the first major conflagration between Israel and Hamas was winding down and as he was about to return to power. Though he praised the performance of the military, he was withering about the political outcome.

"Notwithstanding the blows to the Hamas, it's still in Gaza, it's still ruling Gaza," he told me. He stressed that regime change in Gaza — that is, overthrowing Hamas and reinstalling the Palestinian Authority — was the "optimal outcome," but he added that "the minimal outcome would have been to seal Gaza" from its supplies of rockets and munitions.

Several wars and nearly 15 years later, Hamas is still ruling Gaza, and the munitions have kept pouring in. Though Netanyahu might publicly rue this, the status quo has served his political and ideological interests in multiple ways.

Hamas's control of Gaza has hopelessly divided Palestinian politics. It has provided a modicum of stability in Gaza itself by way of despotic intolerance for domestic dissent. It has served as an advertisement to Israelis as to why they can't afford to relinquish the West Bank to Palestinian control, lest it become another Gaza. And it has done all this at an acceptable price in Israeli lives. Thanks to defensive systems like Iron Dome, Hamas's punches, while frequent and menacing, rarely landed. For Israelis, Gaza seemed relatively contained.

That was, until this weekend. Whatever happens next in the current war, this concept (to borrow another term from the Yom Kippur War era, related to Israel's confidence that it wouldn't be attacked) has clearly failed. Israel has a clear interest not just in punishing Hamas but also in ending its rule for good. But how can it do so without either allowing it to descend into anarchy or reoccupying the territory, which Israel doesn't want?

The answer is to turn Gaza into a zone of shared interests. Despite its anti-Israel public statements, Saudi Arabia has long distrusted Hamas because of its close military ties to Iran. Egypt sees Hamas as the Palestinian arm of the Muslim Brotherhood, which it ruthlessly suppresses at home. The ailing Palestinian Authority views Hamas as its principal rival for power. And the United States long ago designated Hamas as a terrorist group.

Oust Hamas and turn Gaza into a zone of shared interests.

Could Israel finally dislodge Hamas from power and invite Saudi Arabia, Egypt and maybe the United Arab Emirates to deploy a substantial peacekeeping force to the strip? That would serve Israel's interests in toppling an enemy and the Arab states' interests in diminishing a rival.

Could the Palestinian Authority resume civil control over the strip, with security furnished by Arab states and economic aid from the gulf states, Washington and Brussels? That would give Ramallah the control over Gaza it has lacked for 16 years, strengthen secular forces in Palestinian politics and free Gazans from extremist tyranny.

Could Israel and Egypt ease their restrictions on Gaza's economy and the movement of its people in exchange for guarantees that the strip won't again turn into a haven for havoc? That would give the Saudis the opportunity to show that any agreement they make with Israel would help ordinary Palestinians.

And can the Biden administration make itself a vital partner in the diplomatic effort, bringing to fruition what the Trump administration started with the Abraham Accords, just as the Carter administration brought to fruition what the Nixon and Ford administrations started after the Yom Kippur War? That would be no small victory for a president who dearly needs one.

It's too soon to tell how closely this war will resemble the one that nearly destroyed Israel 50 years ago. It's not too soon to start thinking about how this disaster could have the best possible outcome.

Why Is a Statue of Columbus in Puerto Rico?

Alana Casanova-Burgess
A freelance audio journalist and a creator and the host of the podcast "La Brega."

WIRESTOCK, INC./ALAMY

TO FIND the tallest statue in the Western Hemisphere, take Puerto Rico Highway 22 west from San Juan. After about an hour, if you take an exit and a few turns, you'll get to a narrow two-lane road that runs along the island's northern coast. As you get closer, a very angular Christopher Columbus, one hand on a ship's wheel and the other raised to the sky, comes into view. In this rural corner of Arecibo, there's nothing to obscure the view.

The whole 350-foot bronze monument, complete with three sails and a rendering of a map on a scroll, towers over everything around it, making palm trees look like toys. There's no parking lot or visitors' center. So in addition to being out of place, it's devoid of context about the violence of Columbus's time in the Caribbean.

Puerto Rico, now a territory of the United States after centuries of Spanish rule, is one of the world's oldest colonies. In "La Brega," a podcast about Puerto Rico, I've talked about how Columbus is even featured prominently in Puerto Rico's anthem. That doesn't mean he's always front of mind, but his legacy still shapes day-to-day life on the island.

Why did it end up in the Caribbean, the part of the world that suffered Columbus's brutality firsthand? It all begins with Zurab Tsereteli, a Russian sculptor who originally intended to give the monument to the United States in 1992 to mark the 500th anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the Americas in 1492. But all the cities he offered it to, including New York; Boston; Miami; and Columbus, Ohio, turned the eyesore down.

Then in 1998, the Puerto Rican government offered the statue a home and spent $2.4 million to bring it to the island. It sat in storage in thousands of pieces for nearly 20 years, cursed by the nearly impossible and costly logistics of putting such an enormous thing up. There was also public outrage from people who said Puerto Rico shouldn't be celebrating a gruesome legacy.

Named "Birth of the New World," it eventually wound up in Arecibo, paid for by a local businessman. It was completed in 2016, when Puerto Rico was already in an austerity crisis and the millions dedicated to erecting the monument could have been used for almost anything else. At least the theme park that was planned to accompany it, at an estimated $95 million, was never built.

In 2020, plenty of Columbus statues came down around the world, including in the Caribbean. But this colossal thing had already survived Hurricane Maria, and it survived the calls to dismantle it then, too.

Today, many of us consider Columbus a stand-in for Europe and whiteness, and that celebrating him means disregarding our Indigenous Taino and African roots. The idea that giant statues to his legacy are meant to attract tourists tells us a lot about what these leaders want to promote, and what they aren't proud of. The monument is strangely fitting, because it is still sucking our resources.

There's another colossal monument to Columbus in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic: the Faro a Colón. There's a dubious claim that it holds his remains, but the main point of it seems to be its enormity. It's several football fields long, and when lit, the lighthouse projects a cross into the sky that can be seen as far away as Puerto Rico.

The idea that Christopher Columbus should be memorialized this way dates to a time when the mood around his legacy was very different. In 1923, a Pan-American conference concluded that "a monument has not yet been erected in America to perpetuate the collective sentiment of gratitude, admiration and thanksgiving toward Christopher Columbus, discoverer of America and benefactor of humanity." An international design competition followed, with Frank Lloyd Wright among the judges.

To raise money, the Dominican leader Rafael Trujillo, a dictator obsessed with whiteness, organized, with Cuba, an airplane tour of every country in Latin America in 1937. There were four planes: the Niña, the Pinta, the Santa Maria, and one named after Columbus. Three of the planes crashed, killing everyone onboard, and the tour was never finished, but you can still find pro-Faro postage stamps online.

The Caribbean suffered the explorer's brutality firsthand, yet he's memorialized.

Decades later, in the 1980s, President Joaquin Balaguer resuscitated the plans, even though by then there was no more "collective sentiment of gratitude, admiration and thanksgiving" about Columbus. The project was not only hugely unpopular in the country, it was also shunned by world leaders: The pope celebrated Mass at the lighthouse a day before the 500th anniversary of Columbus's arrival in the New World, and the king and queen of Spain didn't even show up. The Washington Post reported that Dominicans didn't want to say Columbus's full name in Spanish because they believed it is cursed (even now, I won't take the risk of saying it in Spanish).

My family lived in the Dominican Republic while this thing was being erected in the late '80s and early '90s. There was a sense then that this project was sucking things — electricity, concrete, money, effort — into itself like a vortex. The Dominican government didn't disclose how much it spent on construction, but it was estimated to have cost $70 million. Thousands of people were displaced to make room for it. The fact that it's dusty and does not attract large crowds doesn't make that history easier to swallow.

Last January in San Juan, the king of Spain came to mark the 500th anniversary of the city's founding. That morning, a statue of the Spanish conquistador Juan Ponce de León in Old San Juan was toppled and damaged. I first saw the news through Puerto Rico's world-class memes of figures like Iris Chacon and Bad Bunny, who some considered more deserving of celebration than the figure standing on the pedestal. There was even a petition to replace it with one of the Taino cacique Agüeybaná.

In an announcement that could have been made in 1523, the mayor of San Juan pledged that the statue would be repaired and reinstalled before the king arrived in the afternoon. Instead of using funds to fix a pothole, he said, they'd use funds for the repairs, seemingly oblivious to the option of simply not repairing the statue at all and attending to the pothole instead. It seemed as if the major topics of Puerto Rican life — colonialism, Puerto Rico's austerity crisis and, yes, even potholes — were contained in the fight over this single statue.

The day ended with a stunning split screen on the local news: the statue being lowered back onto its pedestal, protected by the police, and the king of Spain arriving at the airport. Priorities, right?

Israelis Can't Afford Vicious Infighting Any Longer

Shimrit Meir
The senior adviser to Naftali Bennett when he was prime minister of Israel.

SATURDAY will be remembered as one of the most devastating days in Israel's history.

The events were all too reminiscent of the attacks 50 years ago last week, on the morning of Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish year. That day, in October 1973, Israel was attacked by a coordinated Arab coalition triggering a brutal, three-week war. The country survived only because of the huge sacrifice of its young men and women. It traumatized an entire generation of Israelis and changed the nation profoundly.

Saturday was our 1973.

The videos circulating of Israelis — women, children, older people — taken hostage, defenseless, will haunt us for the rest of our lives. The images are anathema not only to the basic Israeli ethos of self-defense but also to the country's raison d'être as a safe haven for Jews.

It shakes us to the core, but we do not have the luxury to dwell in the shock. We don't have the time to digest the horrors. The Israel Defense Forces need to find the strength to regroup immediately and, once it has contained the situation within Israel's borders, recalibrate and retaliate in a way that holds Hamas and its allies accountable and has a strategic logic, too. Our political leadership as well must re-examine the path it has charted and significantly change course.

These tragic events have one protagonist: Hamas. But there are two major Israeli blind spots that prevented us from recognizing and forestalling what we should have seen.

The first is a policy of trying to appease the enemy, in the hopes that Hamas would eventually grow out of its jihadist origin. Instead, it was Hamas's military wing that grew — from a small organization to a powerful army. Our second blind spot was letting our internal political differences consume us, distracting us from external threats and dividing both our society and, critically, the army.

In four years, Israel dedicated three military operations in Gaza to fighting Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a small Iranian proxy organization. Hamas, the ruling party of Gaza, which operates an army with tens of thousands of missiles and elite commando units, had been largely left to its own devices since the Guardian of the Walls operation in 2021.

We paid the price of war — as did civilians in Gaza — for zero strategic gain. Why? Because Palestinian Islamic Jihad was the easier target. Israel wanted to avoid a big war in Gaza, and we got a slaughter in Israel.

Meanwhile, Hamas manipulated its way to this moment. It secured de facto immunity from Israel's military force and got Qatari money every month for basic needs to help ensure the population didn't revolt. Politicians and military officers alike have spent the past two years leading the public to believe that Hamas was deterred, that it was not interested in a full-on escalation and was internalizing its role as the legitimate government of Gaza.

Now many in Israel are asking, understandably, how did one of the best intelligence operations in the world fail to see the signs? One answer is that we tend to ignore details according to our preconception — which in this case was a misconception about what Hamas is and what its intentions really are.

But this is just part of the story.

In the past five years, as Israel dissolved government after government and held divided election after divided election, and even more so in the past year since Benjamin Netanyahu was re-elected prime minister, the nation has been busy tearing itself apart from within. The Jewish state seems to have forgotten its second role in the world, as a place that embodies the idea of Jewish solidarity. Israelis instead found themselves engaged in an all-out war — not against terrorists but against themselves.

Over the past nearly 40 weeks, as the battle over the judiciary overhaul surfaced, violently, old questions of identity and religious affiliation, as well as ethnicity, class and privilege, shook the populace. Is Israel more Jewish or more democratic? Many in Israel experienced real anxiety: The judiciary change, presented by the most right-wing government in the country's history, seemed to threaten the liberal nature of their beloved country.

They felt that they were fighting for the soul of the nation and that in this fight, all bets were off and nothing was sacred — including the once-untouchable idea of shirking reserve duty in the army. Despite the turmoil in the streets, the ruling coalition refused to accept the fact that with a slim majority, it could not enforce such big changes without consensus, plowing ahead with ever more anxiety-inducing policies day by day.

As a nation, Israelis acted as if we could afford the luxury of a vicious internal fight, the kind in which your political rival becomes your enemy. We let animosity, demagogy and the poisonous discourse of social media take over our society, rip apart the only Jewish army in the world. This is our tragedy. And it carries a lesson for other polarized democracies: There is someone out there waiting to gain from your self-made weakness. This someone is your enemy.

If there can be one conciliation after this darkest of days, it will be Israel returning to its senses, ending the political crisis and forming a unity government. There are many hard decisions that await us after the funerals, chief among them how to bring back home the young children and many others taken hostage by Hamas's terrorists.

Having waged an all-out war against ourselves, we must now come together.

The acts of deep solidarity that we witnessed this weekend remind us of our true nature, beneath the layers of political differences and old resentments. So many have opened their homes to families fleeing the horrors in the south, lined up for hours to donate food, drink, blood. And then there are heroes who risked — and in too many cases sacrificed — their lives, going from home to home, saving family after family.

Saturday was a good day for the jihadists and their supporters around the world, for the people who celebrate the murder of civilians, who thrive on hatred and violence. Now Israelis will bury their dead. Israelis will think about the people taken captive, regroup and go out to win this battle. But the soul-searching will eventually have to come.

LETTERS

'Israel's Pearl Harbor or 9/11 Moment'

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Palestinian Militants Stage Attack on Israel" (front page, Oct. 8):

The Jewish holiday of Shemini Atzeret, which fell on Oct. 7 this year, will be a "day of infamy" for Israel. Hamas's terrorist invasion of the Jewish state — 50 years and a day after the traumatic start of the Yom Kippur War — is Israel's Pearl Harbor or 9/11 moment.

Hundreds of Israelis have been killed and untold numbers kidnapped — including women and children abducted at gunpoint — and taken to Gaza as hostages and human shields. Hamas's unbridled barbarity shocks the conscience of the world.

Thank you to President Biden for assuring Israel of America's full and unwavering support.

STEPHEN A. SILVER
SAN FRANCISCO

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Biden's Road to a New Middle East Has Taken a Violent Detour" (news analysis, Oct. 8):

The latest round of Israel-Gaza violence notwithstanding, it may still be possible to salvage the current U.S.-Saudi-Israeli diplomatic initiative. Israel is capable of exacting terrible revenge on Gaza, but if it does, the resulting bloodshed will engender worldwide condemnation as disproportionate, do little to free Israel's captive citizens and so enrage the Arab street as to shut down diplomatic engagement.

If Israel's government can instead be persuaded to display restraint, possibly as one element in a U.S.-brokered deal with Saudi Arabia and Israel, an odds-defying agreement might yet be struck.

There are many in Israel calling for what would surely be a bloody invasion of Gaza to free the hostages. The unlikelihood of bringing many of them back by force of arms, at whatever cost in lives, should give Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu pause.

The political capital he would gain by finally achieving Saudi diplomatic recognition might give him the leverage with his domestic opponents to sustain a policy of deep restraint, and with his Hamas foes in negotiating for a mutual exchange of captives.

RICHARD STEINBERG
COLUMBIA, MD.

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "As Netanyahu Speaks of War, the Question Is, 'What Then?'" (news analysis, front page, Oct. 8):

The latest Israeli-Palestinian violence is a tragic but inevitable outcome of decades of American indulgence of illegal and immoral Israeli policies that have hardened attitudes and relegated Palestinians to a stateless people living under apartheid conditions.

Ironically, while our country rushes to sanction and isolate Russia for its illegal invasion of Ukraine, we help finance Israel's illegal occupation while blocking United Nations sanctions that would hold Israel accountable for violating Palestinian human rights and international law.

KEN GALAL, SAN FRANCISCO

TO THE EDITOR:

Israel and the United States reputedly have among the most sophisticated intelligence networks in the world. How can a carefully executed Palestinian attack with the launch of thousands of rockets at Israel and the breach of its border not have been known beforehand? There are some serious questions that must be asked, and *now*.

JONATHAN SIEGEL
CARMEL, CALIF.

To Close America's Divide, Find Common Ground

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "My Fellow Republicans Need to Grow Up," by Bob Inglis (Opinion guest essay, Oct. 3):

We are divided not by ideology but by a deep lack of willingness to consider ideas before party alliances.

I wasn't paying attention to politics until 2015. But Donald Trump was so outrageous I was shocked into political activism. I speak out often because silence is not an option.

The MAGA followers I encounter on internet political sites call me Communist, Marxist, treasonous and fascist. I find their attitudes loathsome. I blame Mr. Trump's constant attacks on anyone who speaks out against him — his most virulent and nasty attacks being against Democrats. We have become deeply divided because Mr. Trump models divisive behavior. I fear for our Republic.

But, if I am honest, it is Mr. Trump who has taught me something vital. I must be careful of rejecting someone just because they are on the other side. At least I must be able to define our differences and find our similarities. As a result I may expand my point of view to be richer, more inclusive and balanced. And that is what our system of debate and compromise demands.

JO TRAFFORD
PORTLAND, MAINE

TO THE EDITOR:

I appreciate Bob Inglis's call for Republicans to stop with the mindless vilifying of their Democratic colleagues (and with them the millions of Americans who voted for them), and start engaging on substantive issues that really matter.

Elected Republicans prioritize demonizing and scapegoating and temper tantrums over concern for the challenges of the lived lives of their constituents. Those challenges are shared, to varying degrees, by most Americans. Look for legislative common ground there.

When elected Republicans at all levels of government start noticing the specifics of their constituents' suffering, and then start using their offices to do something about it — that's when we'll know they've really grown up.

JERI ZEDER
LEXINGTON, MASS.

Defending Giuliani

TO THE EDITOR:

In "Giuliani's Drinking Is Subplot in Trump Inquiry" (front page, Oct. 5), I was quoted as saying:

"It's no secret, nor do I do him any favors if I don't mention that problem, because he has it. . . . It's actually one of the saddest things I can think about in politics."

While I don't deny the quote — Rudy Giuliani had a drinking problem that he has dealt with, and I believe he is no longer drinking — I also said a lot of good things about Rudy.

He was one of our greatest mayors. He cleaned New York City up and made it livable. He was a national hero during 9/11, when the country needed leadership. He was "America's Mayor" and beloved by many.

We should also not forget that he was a great U.S. attorney for the Southern District and prosecuted many people who committed heinous crimes.

I have the greatest respect and empathy for this man, who did so much good.

ANDREW STEIN
NEW YORK

The writer is a former president of the New York City Council.

Depression Is Serious

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Prozac Nation, Meet Lexapro Sweatshirts" (Style, nytimes.com, Oct. 2):

I cringed when I read this article about using the names of antidepressants on shirts. I personally think it trivializes the seriousness of depression. Having suffered from manic depression for 50 years now, I don't see that as reducing the stigma of mental illness. It reflects privilege if anything.

Too many moan about being depressed or anxious, but some of us are battling a chronic illness. And we see no point in publicizing our conditions. We are too busy taking care of ourselves.

NANCY C. LANGWISER-KEAR
WELLESLEY, MASS.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be edited, and shortened to fit allotted space. Email: letters@nytimes.com

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3 AUTOMOTIVE
E-bikes sales in Germany have jumped, as drivers and even automakers embrace their role in the future.

6 ENTERTAINMENT
A new kind of deal is bringing concerts by Taylor Swift and Beyoncé to a theater near you.

7 SQUARE FEET
Sacred Heart University and other institutions are buying buildings at a bargain as companies cut office space.

FRANCIS KOKOROKO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
Workers at the Fairafric chocolate factory in Ghana, and harvested cocoa pods, below. Africa grows 70 percent of the world's raw cocoa beans, but produces only 1 percent of the chocolate.

A Chocolate Factory's Vision: Share the Wealth at Home

A follower of the 'fairchain movement,' Fairafric aims to keep a bigger share of the profits in Ghana, where farmers grow the cocoa. It hasn't been easy.

By PATRICIA COHEN

AMANASE, GHANA — The first leg of the 35-mile journey from Ghana's capital city, Accra, to the Fairafric chocolate factory in Amanase on the N6 highway is a quick ride. But after about 30 minutes, the smoothly paved road devolves into a dirt expanse without lanes. Lumbering trucks, packed commuter minivans, cars and motorcycles crawl along craggy, rutted stretches bordered by concrete dividers, muddy patches and heaps of rock.

The stopgap roadway infrastructure is one of the challenges Fairafric has had to navigate to build a factory in this West African country. The area had no fiber-optic connection to Ghana's telecommunications network. No local banks were interested in lending the company money. And it required the personal intervention of Ghana's president before construction could even begin in 2020.

The global chocolate industry is a multibillion-dollar confection, and Africa grows 70 percent of the world's raw cocoa beans. But it produces only 1 percent of the chocolate — missing out on a part of the business that generates the biggest returns and is dominated by American and European

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

FRANCIS KOKOROKO/REUTERS

Campaigns To Root Out Falsehoods Are Fading

Disinformation persists as dozens of countries prepare for elections.

By TIFFANY HSU and STUART A. THOMPSON

After President Biden won the election nearly three years ago, three of every 10 Americans believed the false narrative that his victory resulted from fraud, a poll found. In the years since, fact checkers have debunked the claim in lengthy articles, corrections posted on viral content, videos and chat rooms.

This summer, they received a verdict on their efforts in an updated poll from Monmouth University: Very little has changed. Three of every 10 Americans still believed the false narrative.

With a wave of elections expected next year across the world, the global fact-checking community is taking stock of its efforts over a few intense years — and many don't love what they see.

The number of fact-checking operations at news organizations and elsewhere has stagnated, and perhaps even fallen, after a booming expansion in response to a rise in unsubstantiated claims about elections and the pandemic. The social networking companies that once trumpeted efforts to combat misinformation are showing signs of waning interest. And those who write about falsehoods around the world are facing worsening harassment and personal threats.

"It's not getting better," said Tai Nalon, a journalist who runs Aos Fatos, a Brazilian fact-checking and disinformation-tracking company.

Elections are scheduled next year in more than 5,500 municipalities across Brazil, which a few dozen Aos Fatos fact checkers will monitor. The idea exhausts Ms. Nalon, who has spent recent years navigating a disinformation-peddling president, bizarre theories about the pandemic, and an increasingly polluted online ecosystem rife with harassment, distrust and legal threats.

Ms. Nalon's organization, one of the leading operations of its kind in Brazil, started in 2015 as attention to the fight against false and misleading content online surged. It was part of a fact-checking industry that bloomed around the world. At the end of last year, there were 424 fact-checking websites, up from just 11 in 2008, according to an annual census by the Duke

CONTINUED ON PAGE B2

Used E.V.s Becoming A Good Deal

By SANTUL NERKAR

If you are in the market for an electric vehicle, the time might be right to consider a used one.

The high cost of electric vehicles has long dissuaded many people from buying one. Last year, for example, electric cars and trucks were so popular and supply so limited that waiting lists were common. And some lucky individuals found they could sell their ride for more than they paid for it.

But over the past year, prices of used electric vehicles have fallen significantly. In addition, climate legislation passed in 2022 includes a tax credit to encourage more people to buy used electric cars and trucks.

Auto inflation has eased.

Used cars as a whole are around 7 percent less expensive than they were a year ago, according to data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But used battery-powered models are 28 percent less expensive than a year ago, according to Recurrent, a research firm that specializes in the used electric vehicle market.

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

Amid Strikes, One Question: Are Employers Miscalculating?

By NOAM SCHEIBER

The list of gains that the Hollywood writers secured to end a nearly five-month strike with studios once seemed ludicrously ambitious: not just wage increases, but also minimum staffing levels for shows, new royalties on successful series and restrictions on outsourcing writing duties to artificial intelligence.

Yet far from an anomaly, the writers' deal was the latest high-profile labor standoff that seemed to produce substantial gains for workers, and to suggest that they have more leverage than in the past.

United Parcel Service employees won large pay increases for part-timers by pushing the company to the brink of a strike, while the lowest-paid academic student employees at the University of California won salary increases of more than 50 percent after a monthlong strike affected thousands of students.

Given the unions' apparent bargaining power and the economic costs to a prolonged work stoppage, the question arises: Why wouldn't management make its eventual concessions more quickly?

NEWS ANALYSIS

The answer, many union and management experts say, is that employers are increasingly miscalculating — acting from a template that applied in previous decades, when employees had little leverage, and underestimating the frustration and resolve in the postpandemic work force.

"Psychologically, it's a big shift: They've been in control. They have been able to tell their representatives to go and get concessions on X and Y, to make sure the wage increase is modest," said Thomas Kochan, an emeritus management professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, referring to corporate executives.

"Now, they have to change their expectations internally," Dr. Kochan added. "They have a lot of work to do."

In example after example, executives appear to have been taken aback by unions' new, more assertive leaders and their success at rallying members and the public, as well as the ineffectiveness of the employers' traditional bargaining approach.

In Hollywood, the Alliance of Motion Picture and Television Producers, which represents

CONTINUED ON PAGE B2

Fact Checkers Run Into Limits of Efficacy

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

University Reporters' Lab.

The organizations used an arsenal of old and new tools: fact checks, pre-bunks that tried to inform viewers against misinformation before they encountered it, context labels, accuracy flags, warning screens, content removal policies, media literacy trainings and more. Facebook, which is owned by Meta, helped spur some of the growth in 2016 when it started working with and paying fact-checking operations. Online platforms, like TikTok, eventually followed suit.

Yet the momentum seems to be idling. This year, only 417 sites are active. The addition of new sites has slowed for several years, with just 20 last year compared with 83 in 2019. Sites such as the Baloney Meter in Canada and Fakt Ist Fakt in Austria have gone quiet in recent years.

"The leveling-off represents something of a maturing of the field," said Angie Drobnic Holan, the director of the International Fact-Checking Network, which the nonprofit Poynter Institute started in 2015 to support fact checkers worldwide.

The work continues to draw interest from new parts of the world, and some think tanks and good-government groups have begun offering their own fact-checking services, experts said. Harassment and government repression, however, remain major deterrents. Political polarization has turned fact-checking and other misinformation defenses into a target among right-wing influencers, who claim that debunkers are biased against them.

Yasmin Green, chief executive of Jigsaw, a group within Google that studies threats like disinformation and extremism, recalled one study in which a participant scrolled past a fact check shared by a journalist from CNN and dismissed it out of hand. "Well, who fact-checks the fact checkers?" the user asked.

"We're in this highly distrustful environment where you're evaluating just on the basis of the speaker and distrusting people who you decided their judgment is not trustworthy," Ms. Green said.

Intervening against misinformation has a broadly positive effect, according to researchers. Experiments conducted in 2020 concluded that fact checks in many parts of the world reduced false beliefs for at least two weeks. A team at Stanford determined that education about misinformation after the 2016 election had probably contributed to fewer Americans visiting websites in 2020 that were not credible.

Success, however, is inconsistent and contingent on many variables: the viewer's location, age, political leaning and level of digital engagement, and whether a fact check is written or illustrated, succinct or explanatory. Many efforts never reach crucial demographics, while others are ignored or resisted.

DADO GALDIERI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"It's not getting better," said Tai Nalon, a journalist who runs the Brazilian fact-checking company Aos Fatos.

After falsehoods swarmed Facebook during the pandemic, the platform instituted policies against Covid-19 misinformation. Some researchers, however, questioned the effectiveness of the efforts in a study published this month in the journal Science Advances. They determined that while the amount of anti-vaccine content had declined, engagement with the remaining anti-vaccine content had not.

"In other words, users engaged just as much with anti-vaccine content as they would have if content had not been deleted," said David Broniatowski, a professor at George Washington University and an author of the paper.

The remaining anti-vaccine content was more likely to be misleading, researchers found, and users linked to less trustworthy sources than they did before Facebook put its policies in place.

"Our integrity efforts continue to lead the industry, and we are laser-focused on tackling industry-wide challenges," Corey Chambliss, a spokesman for Meta, said in an emailed statement. "Any suggestion to the contrary is false."

In the first six months of this year, more than 40 million Facebook posts received a fact-check label, according to a report that the company submitted to the European Commission.

Social platforms where false narratives and conspiracy theories still spread widely have scaled back anti-disinformation resources over the past year. Researchers found that fact-checking organizations and similar outlets grew gradually more dependent on social media companies for a financial lifeline; misinformation watchers now worry that increasingly budget-conscious tech companies will start reducing their philanthropy spending.

Such a move could "really turn the screws on fact checkers," said Yoel Roth, the former head of trust and safety at Twitter, which is now known as X.

If Meta ever cuts the budget for its third-party fact-checking program, it could "decimate an entire industry" of fact checkers that depend on its financial support, said Mr. Roth, now a visiting scholar at the University of Pennsylvania. (Meta said its commitment to the program had not changed.)

X has undergone some of the most significant changes of any platform. Its billionaire owner of less than a year, Elon Musk, embraced an experiment that relied on its own unpaid users rather than paid fact checkers and safety teams. The expanded fact-checking program — Community Notes — allows anyone to write corrections on posts. Users can deem a

A fight against disinformation is losing steam.

note "helpful" so it becomes visible to everyone; some notes have appeared alongside content from Mr. Musk and President Biden and even a viral post about a groundhog falsely accused of stealing vegetables.

X did not respond to a request for comment. Tech watchdogs fretted this week about the quality of content on X after The Information reported that the platform was cutting half the team dedicated to managing disinformation about election integrity; the company had said less than a month earlier that it planned to expand the team.

Crowdsourced fact-checking has shown mixed results in research, said Valerie Wirtschafter, a fellow at the Brookings Institution. An article she co-wrote in The Journal of Online Trust and Safety found that the presence of a Community Note did not keep posts from spreading widely. Users who created misleading posts saw no change in the engagement for subsequent posts, suggesting that they paid no penalty for sharing falsehoods.

Since most popular posts on X get a surge in attention within the first few hours, a Community Note added hours or days later would do little to reach people who had read the falsehoods, said Mr. Roth, who resigned from the company after Mr. Musk's arrival last year.

"I've never found a way around having humans in the loop," he said in an interview. "My belief, and everything I've seen, is that on its own, Community Notes is not a sufficient replacement."

Defenders against false narratives and conspiracy theories are also struggling with another complication: artificial intelligence.

The technology's reality-warping abilities, which still manage to stump many of the tools designed to identify their use, are already keeping fact checkers busy. Last week, TikTok said it would test an "A.I.-generated" label, automatically appending it to content detected as having been edited or created with the technology.

Tests are also being run using A.I. to quickly parse the enormous volume of false information, identify frequent spreaders and respond to inaccuracies. The technology, however, has a shaky track record with truth. After the fact-checking organization PolitiFact tested ChatGPT on 40 claims that had already been meticulously researched by human fact checkers, the A.I. either made a mistake, refused to answer or arrived at a different conclusion from the fact checkers half of the time.

Between new technologies, fluctuating policies and stressed watchdogs, the online information ecosystem is in its messy adolescent years — "it's gangly, and it's got acne, and it's moody," said Claire Wardle, a co-director of the Information Futures Lab at Brown University.

She is hopeful, however, that society will learn to adapt and that most people will continue to value accuracy. Misinformation during the 2022 midterm elections was less toxic than feared, she said.

"We tend to get obsessed with the very worst conspiracies — the people who got radicalized," she said. "Actually, the majority of audiences are pretty good at figuring this all out."

Amid Strikes, One Question: Are Employers Miscalculating?

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

entertainment companies in negotiations with writers, directors and actors, has frequently tried to forge a deal with one of the three guilds, then push the other two to accept similar terms.

That appeared to be the group's strategy this year as well: After the writers went on strike in May, the alliance reached a deal with directors the next month. But any hope that the writers would be isolated collapsed when SAG-AFTRA, the union representing more than 150,000 actors, went on strike in July.

"The playbook was clearly outdated," said Peter Newman, a longtime independent producer who heads a dual-degree master's program in business and fine arts at New York University's Tisch School of the Arts.

Still, Mr. Newman said, the strikes saved the studios hundreds of millions of dollars on shows in the short term as Wall Street was pressuring them to cut costs.

The producers' alliance declined to comment for this article.

In Detroit, the three major U.S. automakers had grown accustomed to closed-door negotiations with the United Automobile Workers union, in which the parties did not disclose the potential terms until they reached an overall agreement.

But in the run-up to this year's mid-September strike deadline, the union's new president, Shawn Fain, appeared to wrong-foot executives at Ford Motor, General Motors and Stellantis — which makes the Chrysler and Jeep brands — by disclosing and deriding the companies' offers. In one case, he literally threw a Stellantis proposal in the garbage.

The companies' responses — a Stellantis executive sent employees a letter saying that "theatrics and personal insults will not help," while Ford and G.M. have also expressed impatience — may have further galvanized members and built public support. Polls have found that the public supports the autoworkers over the companies by large margins, and that the margins increased after the U.A.W. began a limited strike.

"It doesn't seem like they were prepared for the direction he was headed with his public comments," David Pryzbylski, a labor lawyer who represents employers at Barnes & Thornburg, said of the reaction to Mr. Fain. "The way they have responded may have escalated it further versus letting it die out."

Stellantis declined to comment. Auto industry executives argue that they have made historically generous offers, and that they haven't been put off by Mr. Fain's outspokenness so much as what they say are the showmanship and the unrealistic expectations he has created.

Mr. Pryzbylski emphasized that it was too early to tell whether the landscape had tilted to labor's advantage for the longer term, or just temporarily. The outcome of the U.A.W. strike remains unclear, and the workers' resolve could diminish if the strike drags on for weeks. Talks between the sides are ongoing.

Other management-side lawyers said that while a handful of executives might have miscalculated of late, there was no broader trend in this direction. They say that employers remain capable of assessing and acting in their self-interest, and that unions are equally capable of miscalculating.

"People are sophisticated on both sides," said Marshall Babson, a longtime management-side lawyer and former member of the National Labor Relations Board. "From my experience, good negotiators don't get distracted by pyrotechnics."

But in many cases, what has changed is not so much the bluster from union leaders as their willingness to follow through — a potentially disruptive shift after years of often empty threats.

When Sean O'Brien, the Teamsters president, ran to succeed his longtime predecessor, James P. Hoffa, in 2021, he promised to raise wages for part-time workers at UPS, many of whom had long felt shortchanged.

And yet, according to two people close to the negotiations, the company seemed caught off guard when talks broke down over the issue on July 5 — Mr. O'Brien's initial deadline.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mr. O'Brien and the union spent the next few weeks publicly attacking UPS over what the union referred to as "part-time poverty" jobs before the company agreed to hourly wage increases for part-timers of more than $7.50 over the life of the new five-year contract.

Shortly after a tentative deal was reached in late July, the UPS chief executive, Carol Tomé, said the company had expected the negotiations "to be late and loud, and they were." The company declined to comment for this article.

Part of the challenge for employers is public opinion: Confidence in big business is at its lowest point in decades, according to Gallup, while approval of labor unions is close to its highest. Mr. Fain and Mr. O'Brien appear to have devised their public campaigns to press this advantage.

Relying on a playbook that's 'outdated,' one observer says.

Unions also appear to have benefited from new methods of keeping members focused on shared goals — as when writers erupted on social media over the news that the talk show hosted by Drew Barrymore would return before the strike ended. (Ms. Barrymore soon reversed course.)

And rank-and-file members appear to have become more committed to their leaders' negotiating strategy as unions have become more democratic and involved members more in the push for a contract, said Jane McAlevey, a longtime labor organizer and scholar.

But perhaps most important, employers seem to be underestimating the determination of workers, who believe they have little to lose from striking amid rising prices and fundamental shifts in their industry that have sometimes made their jobs more precarious.

Weeks after the writers walked off the job this spring, Mae Smith, a strike captain and former writer on the Showtime series "Billions," predicted in an interview that the economic pain of a protracted strike against the studios would not discourage the writers because "unfortunately they've been training us to live off very few months of work for a long time."

The prediction largely held, in something of a departure from the 2007 writers' strike. Back then, when streaming felt like a distant threat, there were some splits within the Writers Guild over how aggressive to be, said Chris Keyser, a past president of the union.

This time, the writers appeared particularly unified by the looming role of artificial intelligence, an issue on which the studios largely refused to engage.

"A number of C.E.O.s, when we talked to them later about A.I., said that was a mistake," recalled Mr. Keyser, a co-chair of the writers' negotiating committee this year.

(The writers did compromise on some issues in the end — there is no ban on studios' use of scripts they own to train A.I. tools, though the guild reserved the right to challenge instances of this.)

Dr. Kochan of M.I.T. said the concession from studios on artificial intelligence was especially significant because it highlighted another shift: employers' diminished ability to limit negotiations to issues like wages and benefits while often reserving the right to control other aspects of the job, like technology adoption.

"For decades, management has been able to say: 'These are our decisions, our prerogatives. It's none of your business,'" he said.

With the breakthrough on artificial intelligence, he added, "this is a new day — that's why the writers' strike was so important."

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE

In re: QUANERGY SYSTEMS, INC.,[1] Debtor.	Chapter 11 Case No. 22-11305 (CTG) **Docket Ref. No. 392**

NOTICE OF ORDER (I) APPROVING THE DISCLOSURE STATEMENT; (II) APPROVING SOLICITATION AND VOTING PROCEDURES, INCLUDING (A) FIXING THE RECORD DATE, (B) APPROVING THE SOLICITATION PACKAGES AND PROCEDURES FOR DISTRIBUTION, (C) APPROVING THE FORM OF THE BALLOT AND ESTABLISHING PROCEDURES FOR VOTING, AND (D) APPROVING PROCEDURES FOR VOTE TABULATION; (III) SCHEDULING A CONFIRMATION HEARING AND ESTABLISHING NOTICE AND OBJECTION PROCEDURES; AND (IV) GRANTING RELATED RELIEF

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE THAT:

1. ***Approval of the Disclosure Statement.*** On October 2, 2023 the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware (the "Court"), having jurisdiction over the above-captioned chapter 11 case of Quanergy Systems, Inc. (the "Debtor"), entered an order [Docket No. 392] (the "Disclosure Statement Order") approving the *Disclosure Statement for the First Amended Chapter 11 Plan of Quanergy Systems, Inc.*, dated as of October 2, 2023 and attached as Exhibit 1 to the Disclosure Statement Order (as amended, modified or supplemented from time to time, the "Disclosure Statement") as containing adequate information within the meaning of section 1125 of chapter 11 of title 11 of the United States Code (the "Bankruptcy Code"), and authorized the Debtor to solicit votes to accept or reject the *First Amended Chapter 11 Plan of Quanergy Systems, Inc.*, dated as of October 2, 2023 (as amended, modified or supplemented from time to time, the "Plan"), annexed as Exhibit A to the Disclosure Statement.[2] Capitalized terms used but not otherwise defined herein shall have the meanings ascribed to such terms in the Plan.

2. ***Classification of Claims and Interests under the Plan.*** The classification and treatment of Claims and Interests under the Plan is described generally below:

Class	Claim or Interest	Summary of Treatment	Projected Recovery Under Plan
1	Secured Claims	Unimpaired ***Deemed to Accept Plan***	100%
2	Priority Claims	Unimpaired ***Deemed to Accept Plan***	100%
3	General Unsecured Claims	Impaired ***Entitled to Vote on Plan***	Recovery Range: 8.5% - 10.3%
4	Allowed GUC Settlement Claims	Impaired ***Entitled to Vote on Plan***	Recovery Range: 0%
5	Subordinated Claims	Impaired ***Deemed to Reject Plan***	N/A
6	Interests	Impaired ***Deemed to Reject Plan***	N/A

3. ***Deadline for Voting on the Plan.*** If you hold a Claim against the Debtor as of October 2, 2023, (the "Record Date"), and are entitled to vote to accept or reject the Plan, you have received with this Confirmation Hearing Notice a Ballot and voting instructions appropriate for your Claim, and a copy of the Plan and Disclosure Statement. The Plan and Disclosure Statement and all documents attendant thereto will be distributed by the Voting Agent via USB Flash Drive. The USB Flash Drive will be black in color with the Voting Agent's logo on it, and will come with a one-page sheet outlining the documents included on the USB Flash Drive. The Court has established **November 2, 2023 at 5:00 p.m. (ET)** (the "Voting Deadline") as the deadline by which Ballots accepting or rejecting the Plan must be received. Only Holders of Claims in Class 3 (Allowed General Unsecured Claims) and Class 4 (Allowed GUC Settlement Claims) under the Plan are entitled to vote on the Plan and will receive Ballots to cast such votes. To be counted, Ballots must be properly executed, completed, and delivered to the Voting Agent at the address provided for herein, or submitted via the eBallot Portal (as defined below), so as to be received by the Voting Agent no later than the Voting Deadline, unless extended by the Debtor. Ballots will be accepted in paper form, or submitted electronically, via the eBallot Portal, by delivering the Ballot by first-class mail postage prepaid, personal delivery or overnight courier to the Voting Agent at: **By First-Class Mail, Hand Delivery or Overnight Mail:** Quanergy Systems Ballot Processing, c/o Stretto, 410 Exchange, Suite 100, Irvine, CA 92602.

Ballots may also be submitted via an electronic Ballot through the Voting Agent's on-line electronic Ballot submission portal at https://Cases.Stretto.com/Quanergy (the "eBallot Portal") by no later than the Voting Deadline. The Voting Agent's eBallot Portal is the sole manner in which Ballots will be accepted via electronic or online transmission. Any failure to follow the voting instructions included with the Ballot may disqualify a Ballot and vote. Ballots cast by facsimile, e-mail or other electronic transmission, except through the eBallot Portal, will not be counted.

4. Holders of Unimpaired Claims under the Plan that are deemed to accept the Plan (*i.e.*, Class 1 Allowed Secured Claims and Class 2 Allowed Priority Claims) and Holders of Impaired Claims and Interests that are deemed to reject the Plan (*i.e.*, Class 5 Subordinated Claims and Class 6 Interests) are not entitled to vote on the Plan.

5. ***Confirmation Hearing.*** A hearing to consider the confirmation of the Plan and for such other and further relief as may be just or proper (the "Confirmation Hearing") will be held on **November 8, 2023 at 10:00 a.m. (ET)** before the Honorable Craig T. Goldblatt, United States Bankruptcy Judge, at the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware, 824 Market Street, 6th Floor, Courtroom 7, Wilmington, Delaware 19801. The Confirmation Hearing may be continued by the Debtor from time to time without further notice to Holders of Claims or Interests or other parties in interest other than the announcement of the adjourned date(s) at the Confirmation Hearing or any continued hearing or on the applicable hearing agenda or a notice filed with the Bankruptcy Court. The Plan may be modified in accordance with the Bankruptcy Code, the Bankruptcy Rules, the Plan and other applicable law, without further notice, prior to or as a result of the Confirmation Hearing. If the Bankruptcy Court enters an order confirming the Plan, section 1141 of the Bankruptcy Code shall become applicable with respect to the Plan and the Plan shall be binding on all parties to the fullest extent permitted by the Bankruptcy Code.

6. ***Deadline for Objections to Confirmation of the Plan.*** Objections, if any, to confirmation of the Plan, must (i) be in writing; (ii) state the name, address, and nature of the Claim or Interest of the objecting or responding party; (iii) state with particularity the legal and factual basis and nature of any objection or response; and (iv) be filed with the Clerk of the Bankruptcy Court, 824 N. Market Street, 3rd Floor, Wilmington, Delaware 19801, and served on the following parties so as to be actually received **before 4:00 p.m. (ET) on November 2, 2023**: (i) counsel to the Debtor, (x) Cooley LLP, 55 Hudson Yards, New York, NY 10001 (Attn.: Cullen D. Speckhart (cspeckhart@cooley.com), Michael A. Klein (mklein@cooley.com), and Lauren A. Reichardt (lreichardt@cooley.com)); and (y) Young Conaway Stargatt & Taylor, LLP, Rodney Square, 1000 North King Street, Wilmington, DE 19801, (Attn.: Sean M. Beach (sbeach@ycst.com), Shane M. Reil (sreil@ycst.com), and Heather P. Smillie (hsmillie@ycst.com)); (ii) counsel to the Committee, (x) Gibbons P.C., One Gateway Center Newark, NJ 07102 (Attn.: Robert K. Malone (rmalone@gibbonslaw.com), Brett S. Theisen (btheisen@gibbonslaw.com) and Kyle P. McEvilly (kmcevilly@gibbonslaw.com)); and (y) Gibbons P.C., 300 Delaware Avenue, Suite 1015 Wilmington, DE 19801-1671 (Attn.: Chantelle D. McClamb (cmcclamb@gibbonslaw.com)); and (iii) the Office of the United States Trustee for the District of Delaware, 855 King Street, Suite 2207, Lockbox 35, Wilmington, DE 19801, (Attn.: Richard L. Schepacarter, Esq. (richard.schepacarter@usdoj.gov)).

7. ***Certain Voting Issues.*** Any party that wishes to challenge the allowance of its Claim for voting purposes shall serve on counsel to the Debtor and file with the Court a motion for an order, pursuant to Bankruptcy Rule 3018(a), temporarily allowing such Claim in a different amount or classification for purposes of voting to accept or reject the Plan (a "Rule 3018 Motion") **on or before 4:00 p.m. (ET) on October 23, 2023**, unless the Rule 3018 Motion is filed in response to a claim objection filed against the holder's claim, in which case the Rule 3018 Motion shall be served on the Debtor's counsel no later than 4:00 p.m. eastern time on the date that is seven (7) days after service of such claim objection. The Debtor (and, with respect to filing a response, any other party in interest) shall then have seven (7) days after service of the Rule 3018 Motion to file and serve any responses to the same. If the Rule 3018 Motion is not consensually resolved, such Rule 3018 Motion will be adjudicated as part of the Confirmation Hearing.

8. *RELEASE, INJUNCTION AND EXCULPATION PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN THE PLAN. ARTICLE XI OF THE PLAN CONTAINS CERTAIN RELEASE, INJUNCTION AND EXCULPATION PROVISIONS. YOU ARE ENCOURAGED TO CAREFULLY REVIEW THE PLAN, INCLUDING THESE PROVISIONS, AS YOUR RIGHTS MAY BE AFFECTED, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER OF YOU ARE UNIMPAIRED OR IMPAIRED UNDER THE PLAN.*

9. *The release in Section 11.11(b) of the Plan (the "Claim Holder Release") binds the "Releasing Parties," which the Plan defines as follows: "(a) all Holders of Claims deemed hereunder to have accepted the Plan (i.e., Holders of Claims in Unimpaired Classes of Claims) that have not Filed an objection to the release in Section 11.11(b) of the Plan prior to the deadline to object to Confirmation of the Plan; (b) all Holders of Claims in Class 4 that make a Class 4 Election and vote to accept the Plan; and (c) all Holders of Claims in Class 3 that (i) vote to accept or reject the Plan and do not timely submit a Release Opt-Out indicating such Holder's decision to not participate in the releases set forth in Section 11.11(b) of the Plan, or (ii) do not vote to accept or reject the Plan, and either do not timely submit a Release Opt-Out, or do not File an objection to the releases in Section 11.11(b) of the Plan prior to the deadline to object to Confirmation of the Plan; provided, however, that Holders of Claims in Class 3 whose Ballots are returned to the Debtor or its agent as undeliverable, or to whom the Debtor or its agent did not mail a Ballot, shall not be deemed to participate in the releases set forth in Section 11.11(b) of the Plan, which entities, if any, shall be set forth in a notice Filed with the Bankruptcy Court by the Debtor or the Plan Administrator within five (5) Business Days of the Effective Date."*

The Claim Holder Release provides:

"Releases by Holders of Claims. As of the Effective Date, for good and valuable consideration, including the contributions of the Released Parties in facilitating the administration of the Chapter 11 Case and other actions contemplated by the Plan and the other contracts, instruments, releases, agreements or documents executed and delivered in connection with the Plan and the Chapter 11 Case, and subject to Section 11.11(d) of the Plan, each of the Releasing Parties shall be deemed to have conclusively, absolutely, unconditionally, irrevocably and forever, released the Released Parties from any and all Claims, Interests, obligations, rights, suits, damages, Causes of Action (including any and all Causes of Action under chapter 5 of the Bankruptcy Code), remedies and liabilities whatsoever, including any derivative claims or claims asserted or assertible on behalf of the Debtor and the Estate, whether known or unknown, foreseen or unforeseen, liquidated or unliquidated, fixed or contingent, matured or unmatured, existing or hereafter arising, in law, equity or otherwise, that such Releasing Party would have been legally entitled to assert (whether individually or collectively), based in whole or in part on any act, omission, transaction, event or other occurrence taking place on or prior to the Effective Date, including in any way relating to the Debtor, the Estate, the Chapter 11 Case, the Plan, the Disclosure Statement or related agreements, instruments or other documents; provided, however, that nothing herein shall be deemed a waiver or release of any right of any such Releasing Parties to receive a Distribution pursuant to the terms of the Plan; provided further, however, that the foregoing provisions of this release in Section 11.11(b) of the Plan shall not operate to waive, release or otherwise impair any Causes of Action arising from criminal acts, willful misconduct, actual fraud, or gross negligence of such applicable Released Party as determined by Final Order of the Bankruptcy Court or any other court of competent jurisdiction. For the avoidance of doubt, notwithstanding anything to the contrary herein, the foregoing release by the Releasing Parties is not, and shall not be deemed to be, in exchange for a waiver of the Debtor's rights or claims against the Releasing Parties, including the Debtor's rights to assert setoffs, recoupments or counterclaims, or to object or assert defenses to any Claim or Interest, and all such rights and Claims are expressly reserved."

10. *Additionally, Article XI of the Plan contains certain provisions regarding exculpation and injunctions. All parties are advised to read Article XI of the Plan carefully and consult with their own advisors with respect thereto. The text of the relevant provisions of Article XI of the Plan are as follows:*

Section 11.10. (a) Injunction Relating to Releases. Effective as of the Effective Date, all Persons that hold, have held, or may hold a Claim, Cause of Action, obligation, suit, judgment, damages, debt, right, remedy, or liability of any nature whatsoever, that is released or exculpated pursuant to the Plan and Disclosure Statement (the "Released Claims"), shall be permanently, forever and completely stayed, restrained, prohibited, barred, and enjoined from taking any of the following actions, whether directly or indirectly, derivatively or otherwise, on account of or based on the subject matter of such Released Claims (i) commencing, conducting, or continuing in any manner, directly or indirectly, any suit, action, or other proceeding (including, without limitation, any judicial, arbitral, administrative, or other proceeding) on account of the Released Claims in any forum, (ii) enforcing, attaching (including, without limitation, any prejudgment attachment), collecting, or in any way seeking to recover any judgment, award, decree, or other order on account of the Released Claims, (iii) creating, perfecting, or in any way enforcing in any matter, directly or indirectly, any lien on account of the Released Claims, (iv) setting off (except to the extent such setoff was exercised prior to the Petition Date), seeking reimbursement or contribution from, or subrogation against, directly or indirectly, any amount against any liability or obligation owed to any Person on account of the Released Claims.

Section 11.12. Exculpation and Limitation of Liability. On the Effective Date, for good and valuable consideration, the adequacy of which is hereby confirmed, to the maximum extent permitted by law, none of the Exculpated Parties shall have or incur any liability to any Person or Entity, including, without limitation, to any Holder of a Claim or an Interest, for any act or omission in connection with, relating to, or arising out of the Chapter 11 Case, the formulation, negotiation, preparation, dissemination, solicitation of acceptances, implementation, confirmation or consummation of the Plan, the Disclosure Statement, the Plan Administrator Agreement or any contract, instrument, release or other agreement or document created, executed or contemplated in connection with the Plan, or the administration of the Plan, or the Assets and property to be distributed under the Plan, or for any act taken or omitted to be taken on or after the Petition Date and prior to or on the Effective Date; provided, however, that the exculpation provisions of this Section 11.12 shall not apply to acts or omissions constituting actual fraud, willful misconduct or gross negligence by such Exculpated Party, as determined by a Final Order.

Copies of Documents. Copies of the Plan, the Disclosure Statement, the Plan Supplement (which will be filed on or before October 26, 2023 pursuant to Local Rule 3016-2), and the Disclosure Statement Order are, or will be, available for review free of charge at https://Cases.Stretto.com/Quanergy by clicking on the link on the left hand side of the page titled "Plan & Disclosure Statement." In addition, copies of the Plan are available upon written request to the Debtor's Voting Agent: **By First-Class Mail, Hand Delivery or Overnight Mail:** Quanergy Systems Ballot Processing, c/o Stretto, 410 Exchange, Suite 100, Irvine, CA 92602.

If you are the Holder of a Claim and believe that you are entitled to vote on the Plan, but you did not receive a Solicitation Package, or if you have any questions concerning voting procedures, you should contact the Voting Agent electronically, in writing or via telephone at: 855-613-0451 (toll-free) or 949-889-0181 (international).

Dated: Wilmington, Delaware, October 2, 2023, /s/ Heather P. Smillie, Sean M. Beach (No. 4070), Shane M. Reil (No. 6195), Heather P. Smillie (No. 6923), **YOUNG CONAWAY STARGATT & TAYLOR, LLP**, Rodney Square, 1000 N. King Street, Wilmington, Delaware 19801, Telephone: (302) 571-6600, Email: sbeach@ycst.com, sreil@ycst.com, hsmillie@ycst.com -and- Cullen Drescher Speckhart (admitted *pro hac vice*), Michael A. Klein (admitted *pro hac vice*), Lauren A. Reichardt (admitted *pro hac vice*), **COOLEY LLP**, 55 Hudson Yards, New York, NY 10001, Telephone: (212) 479-6000, Email: cspeckhart@cooley.com, mklein@cooley.com, lreichardt@cooley.com, *Counsel to the Debtor and Debtor in Possession*

[1] The Debtor and the last four digits of its taxpayer identification number are: Quanergy Systems, Inc. (5845). The Debtor's mailing address for purposes of the Chapter 11 Case is Quanergy Systems, Inc., c/o SierraConstellation Partners, LLC, 355 S. Grand Avenue, Suite 1450, Los Angeles, CA 90071.

[2] Subsequent to entry of the Disclosure Statement Order, the Debtor filed solicitation versions of the Plan [Docket No. 394] and Disclosure Statement [Docket No. 395].

Information to identify the case:
Debtor: Barretts Minerals Inc. (see below for list of all Debtors)
EIN: 13-3678715
United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of Texas
Case Number: 23-90794 (DRJ) Jointly Administered
Date case filed for Chapter 11: October 2, 2023

Official Form 309F1 (For Corporations or Partnerships)

Notice of Chapter 11 Bankruptcy Case 10/20

For the debtor listed above, a case has been filed under chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code. An order for relief has been entered.

This notice has important information about the case for creditors and debtors, including information about the meeting of creditors and deadlines. Read both pages carefully.

The filing of the case imposed an automatic stay against most collection activities. This means that creditors generally may not take action to collect debts from the debtor or the debtor's property. For example, while the stay is in effect, creditors cannot sue, assert a deficiency, repossess property, or otherwise try to collect from the debtor. Creditors cannot demand repayment from the debtor by mail, phone, or otherwise. Creditors who violate the stay can be required to pay actual and punitive damages and attorney's fees.

Confirmation of a chapter 11 plan may result in a discharge of debt. A creditor who wants to have a particular debt excepted from discharge may be required to file a complaint in the bankruptcy clerk's office within the deadline specified in this notice. (See line 11 below for more information.)

To protect your rights, consult an attorney. All documents filed in the case may be inspected at the bankruptcy clerk's office at the address listed below or through PACER (Public Access to Court Electronic Records at https://pacer.uscourts.gov).

The staff of the bankruptcy clerk's office cannot give legal advice. Do not file this notice with any proof of claim or other filing in the case.

1. **Debtor's full name: SEE BELOW CHART**
Name of Debtors, *Other Names Used by the Debtors in the last 8 years*, EIN Number, Case Numbers: Barretts Minerals Inc., *N/A*, 13-3678715, 23-90794; Barretts Ventures Texas LLC, *N/A*, 93-3290787, 23-90793

2. **All other names used in the last 8 years: N/A**

3. **Address: 5605 North MacArthur Blvd., Suite 1000, PMB 139 Irving, Texas 75038**

4. **Debtors' attorneys:** Porter Hedges LLP, 1000 Main St., 36th Floor, Houston, Texas 77002, Attn: John F. Higgins, Megan Young-John, Bryan L. Rochelle, James A. Keefe, Telephone: (713) 226-6000, Facsimile: (713) 226-6248, Email: jhiggins@porterhedges.com, myoung-john@porterhedges.com, brochelle@porterhedges.com, jkeefe@porterhedges.com -and- LATHAM & WATKINS LLP, 355 South Grand Avenue, Suite 100, Los Angeles, CA 90071, Attn: Jeffrey E. Bjork, Kimberly A. Posin, Helena Tseregounis, Shawn P. Hansen, Telephone: (213) 485-1234, Facsimile: (213) 891-8763, Email: jeff.bjork@lw.com, kim.posin@lw.com, helena.tseregounis@lw.com, shawn.hansen@lw.com -and- LATHAM & WATKINS LLP, 1271 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020, Attn: George A. Davis, Anu Yerramalli, Jonathan J. Weichselbaum, Alexandra M. Zablocki, Telephone: (212) 906-1200, Facsimile: (212) 751-4864, Email: george.davis@lw.com, anu.yerramalli@lw.com, jon.weichselbaum@lw.com, alexandra.zablocki@lw.com

Debtors' notice and claims agent (for court documents and case information inquiries): Case Website: https://cases.stretto.com/BMI, Email: InquiriesBMI@stretto.com, Telephone: (888) 322-1230 (Toll free), (949) 744-7978 (International). **If by First Class Mail:** Barretts Minerals Inc., c/o Stretto, 410 Exchange Suite 100, Irvine, CA 92602; **If by Hand Delivery or Overnight Mail:** Barretts Minerals Inc., c/o Stretto, 410 Exchange Suite 100, Irvine, CA 92602

5. **Bankruptcy clerk's office: United States Courthouse, 515 Rusk Avenue, Houston, Texas 77002. Hours Open: Monday – Friday 8:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m. (Prevailing Central Time). Contact phone: (713) 250-5500.** Documents in this case may be filed at this address. You may inspect all records filed in this case at this office or online at www.pacer.gov. All documents in this case are available free of charge on the Stretto website at https://cases.stretto.com/BMI

6. **Meeting of creditors: November 9, 2023 at 10:00 a.m. (prevailing Central Time). Location: Telephone Conference Call, Dial: (866) 707-5468, Code: 6166997#.** The meeting may be continued or adjourned to a later date. If so, the date will be on the court docket. The debtor's representative must attend the meeting to be questioned under oath. Creditors may attend, but are not required to do so.

7. **Proof of claim deadline: Deadline for filing proof of claim:** Not yet set. When a deadline is set, the court will send you another notice. Proofs of claim may be filed electronically (no paper claim required) on the Court's ECF system, by accessing the E-filing Claims (ePOC) link (at www.txs.uscourts.gov/bankruptcy) or through the claims agent's portal at https://cases.stretto.com/BMI. Paper copies of completed proofs of claim may be submitted to Stretto, Inc., as the official claims agent for these cases. A proof of claim is a signed statement describing a creditor's claim. A proof of claim form may be obtained at www.uscourts.gov, any bankruptcy clerk's office, or on the claims agent's website at https://cases.stretto.com/BMI. Your claim will be allowed in the amount scheduled unless: • your claim is designated as *disputed*, contingent, or *unliquidated*; • you file a proof of claim in a different amount; or • you receive another notice. If your claim is not scheduled or if your claim is designated as *disputed*, *contingent*, or *unliquidated*, you must file a proof of claim or you might not be paid on your claim and you might be unable to vote on a plan. You may file a proof of claim even if your claim is scheduled. You may review the schedules at the bankruptcy clerk's office, online at https://pacer.uscourts.gov, or on the claims agent's website at https://cases.stretto.com/BMI. Secured creditors retain rights in their collateral regardless of whether they file a proof of claim. Filing a proof of claim submits a creditor to the jurisdiction of the bankruptcy court, with consequences a lawyer can explain. For example, a secured creditor who files a proof of claim may surrender important nonmonetary rights, including the right to a jury trial.

8. **Exception to discharge deadline:** If § 523(c) applies to your claim and you seek to have it excepted from discharge, you must start a judicial proceeding by filing a complaint by the deadline stated below. The bankruptcy clerk's office must receive a complaint and any required filing fee by the following deadline. **Deadline for filing the complaint: To be Determined**

9. **Creditors with a foreign address:** If you are a creditor receiving notice mailed to a foreign address, you may file a motion asking the court to extend the deadlines in this notice. Consult an attorney familiar with United States bankruptcy law if you have any questions about your rights in this case.

10. **Filing a Chapter 11 bankruptcy case:** Chapter 11 allows debtors to reorganize or liquidate according to a plan. A plan is not effective unless the court confirms it. You may receive a copy of the plan and a disclosure statement telling you about the plan, and you may have the opportunity to vote on the plan. You will receive notice of the date of the confirmation hearing, and you may object to confirmation of the plan and attend the confirmation hearing. Unless a trustee is serving, the debtors will remain in possession of their property and may continue to operate their businesses.

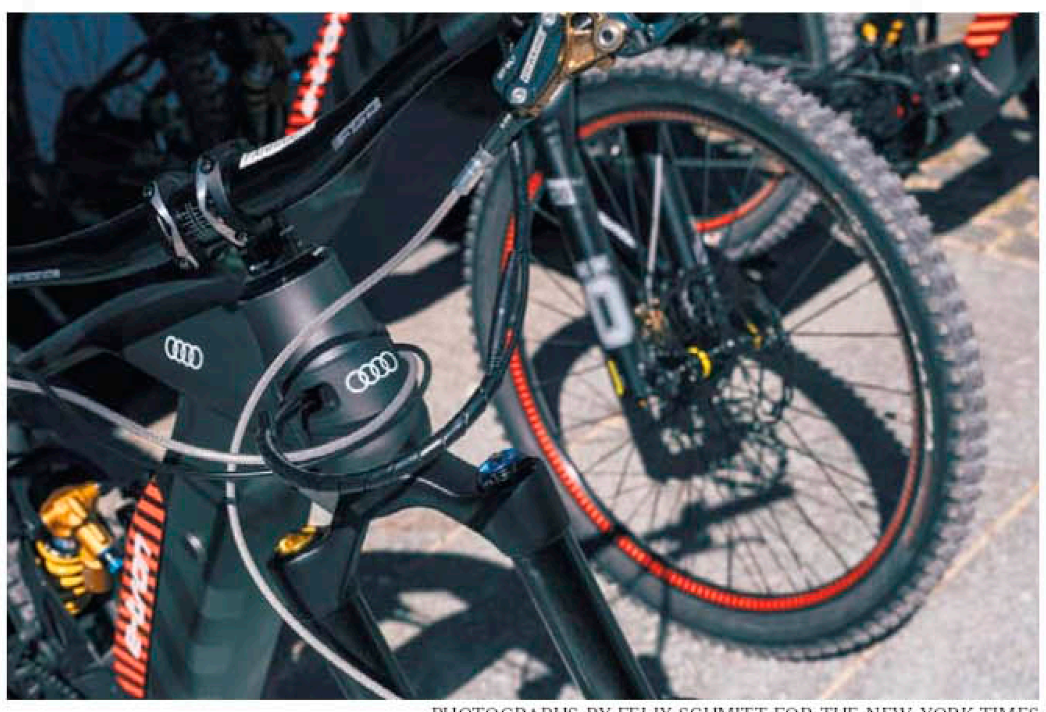
11. **Discharge of debts:** Confirmation of a chapter 11 plan may result in a discharge of debts, which may include all or part of your debt. See 11 U.S.C. § 1141(d). A discharge means that creditors may never try to collect the debt from the debtor except as provided in the plan. If you want to have a particular debt owed to you excepted from the discharge and § 523(c) applies to your claim, you must start a judicial proceeding by filing a complaint and paying the filing fee in the bankruptcy clerk's office by the deadline.

AUTOMOTIVE

German E-Bikes Gain Power as the Car Industry Falters

Even automakers are embracing their role in transportation's future.

By MELISSA EDDY



PHOTOGRAPHS BY FELIX SCHMITT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A bicyclist took an Audi e-bike on a test ride at the mobility fair, a rebrand of what was Germany's largest auto show, in Munich last month, left and below. Last year, the average e-bike in Germany sold for nearly $3,000. Parts of the Audi e-tron electric mountain bike, above.

MUNICH — Germany's automakers are facing steep challenges as they convert to battery-powered lineups and confront rising competition from China. But business is booming in another corner of the German transport industry: e-bikes.

Sales of bicycles in Germany reached a record 7.36 billion euros, or $7.8 billion, in 2022, with e-bikes accounting for nearly half of sales, according to the German Bicycle Industry Association. The group is forecasting that this year, for the first time, Germans will buy more e-bikes than conventional models.

Electric bicycles and scooters are the backbone of what's known as micromobility, seen as crucial to cutting the carbon emissions of transportation and helping to ease pollution and congestion in European cities. Analysts at EY cite e-bikes as the factor behind predicted annual growth of 4.6 percent in Europe's bicycle market in the coming five years, as more people adjust their lifestyles to cut emissions. At the same time, the number of privately owned cars could drop by as much as 25 percent, according to a study by PWC, as consumers shift to car sharing and alternative mobility models.

Germany's auto industry has noticed. Porsche offers a sporty, all-terrain e-bike — with the carmaker's familiar gold-and-red crest under the handlebars. Audi has a similar model.

"Demand for micromobility is growing," said Sandra Wolf, the chief executive of Riese & Müller, a leading German bicycle maker with a wide range of electric models. "E-bikes play an important role in that."

Germany is Europe's largest overall market for bicycles, and in recent years German bike makers have seen a growing demand for their e-bikes abroad, especially within Europe. China is the world's largest producer of e-bikes, but duties imposed by the European Union on Chinese imports have helped to shield producers in Europe.

Several German firms are among the leading e-bike manufacturers in Europe, along with rivals in France, Italy and the Netherlands. In the first quarter of this year, exports of battery-powered bicycles made in Germany jumped 56 percent from a year earlier, according to the German Bicycle Industry Association.

That sort of growth has attracted investors. Last year LRMR Ventures, the investment firm of the National Basketball Association star LeBron James, led a group investing €30 million in Canyon, a German bicycle producer based in Koblenz, with an eye to expanding its e-bike offerings and presence in the United States.

Germany's largest automobile show, in Munich, was rebranded as a "mobility" fair in 2021. During a panel discussion at the show last month, Oliver Blume, the chief executive of Volkswagen, explained how his company was working on technology to reduce the cost of the batteries for electric vehicles.

Ms. Wolf, who was also on the panel, said cycling was already filling the space for more affordable, sustainable transportation. "It is one of the cheapest transport modes and one with easiest access," she said.

Still, the average e-bike in Germany sold for €2,800, or nearly $3,000, last year, according to the German Bicycle Industry Association, a high price point that has made leasing popular. Across Europe, some companies are offering employees a perk of leasing an e-bike for commuting. Delivery firms are also renting electric cargo bikes — the larger models capable of carrying heavy or bulky loads — for their drivers.

Automakers are getting into this market, too. "Bike leasing is booming," said Christian Dahlheim, the chief executive of Volkswagen's Financial Services division, which handles leasing of the company's cars. Volkswagen recently teamed up with Pon, a Dutch company, in a venture focused on leasing bicycles to workers via their employers, with an eye to expanding in Europe and the United States.

Companies known for auto parts also see opportunities in e-bikes. Bosch, long a leading supplier of powertrains and other technology for German automakers, is now a major supplier of the batteries, motors and brakes for e-bikes. Technology originally developed for cars, such as anti-lock breaks, are now being used in e-bikes.

Increasingly, customers are looking for more nimble, lighter e-bikes that can carry cargo loads of up to 140 pounds. Such models are growing in popularity, with families seeking a car-free way to transport children and groceries.

Older riders who want to remain mobile and active, but are looking for what William Kraus, 67, called "a little boost," are another growing target market. Mr. Kraus, who tried several models on display at the show in Munich, said he hadn't decided on the right one yet for himself and his wife.

But he was convinced that the next vehicle he bought would be an e-bike.

"They take the strain out of riding and make it more fun," he said. And while prices ranging from $2,000 to $5,000 were still high, they were a fraction of the $35,000 starting price for a new electric car.

Previously Owned E.V.s Are Becoming a Good Deal

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

Shortages of new cars during the pandemic made new and used cars more expensive, as strong demand for new vehicles spilled over into the used market. Now, supply chains and inventories have improved, and new electric vehicles — and new cars generally — have become more available.

Tesla, which sells the most new electric cars, has cut prices several times this year to attract buyers, forcing other automakers to lower prices and offer promotions. Those cuts have helped to push down used car prices.

Are electric cars a bad investment?

Most cars depreciate over time. That said, electric cars and trucks are holding their value better today than they did before the pandemic. That is because there are more places to charge these cars and people have become more familiar with them, said David Paris, director of market intelligence at J.D. Power Valuation Services.

If you bought, say, a used BMW i3 in 2019, Mr. Paris said, it retained only around 30 percent of the manufacturer's suggested retail prices after three years. But now the i3 retains more than 50 percent of its value, suggesting that buyers have fewer concerns about the cars and specifically the health of their batteries, the most expensive part of those vehicles.

Liz Najman, a researcher at Recurrent, said most used electric cars were still new enough that their batteries should be covered under warranty. "Most used E.V.s in the country have at least an eight year, 100,000-mile warranty on their battery," she said.

You should still check the health of a car's battery before buying because replacing it can be expensive. Recurrent provides reports on the health of a car's battery, and apps like Leaf Spy and MyGreenVolt allow car owners to monitor their batteries, depending on the model.

You might be eligible for a tax credit.

The Inflation Reduction Act, President Biden's climate bill, grants a tax credit of up to $4,000 for buying used electric vehicles that cost no more than $25,000.

The credit is available to individuals who earn up to $75,000 a year and couples who make $150,000 or less. According to Recurrent, around 27 percent of the used electric car inventory is eligible for the credit, up from 17 percent last year.

To qualify, a used vehicle has to be at least two years old. Buyers cannot claim the credit more than once every three years. But unlike with the tax credits for new vehicles, there are no restrictions on where a used electric vehicle is assembled or where the materials in its batteries come from.

More options are available.

Before the pandemic, some of the most popular electric vehicles had been on the road for only a few years at most. Among the few electric models often found on the used car lot, many were luxury models like the Tesla Model S, a large sedan, or the Tesla Model X, a three-row sport-utility vehicle.

The market is much bigger and more diverse now. The number of used electric cars for sale has tripled over the past year, according to Recurrent.

Buying a used electric vehicle might not be right for everyone, especially if you have to drive long distances or live somewhere where charging stations are few and far between. But if you have a place to plug in and do not frequently drive several hundred miles a day, you can get a good deal.

Government of Pakistan
(Privatisation Commission)
Islamabad

INVITATION OF TECHNICAL & FINANCIAL PROPOSALS

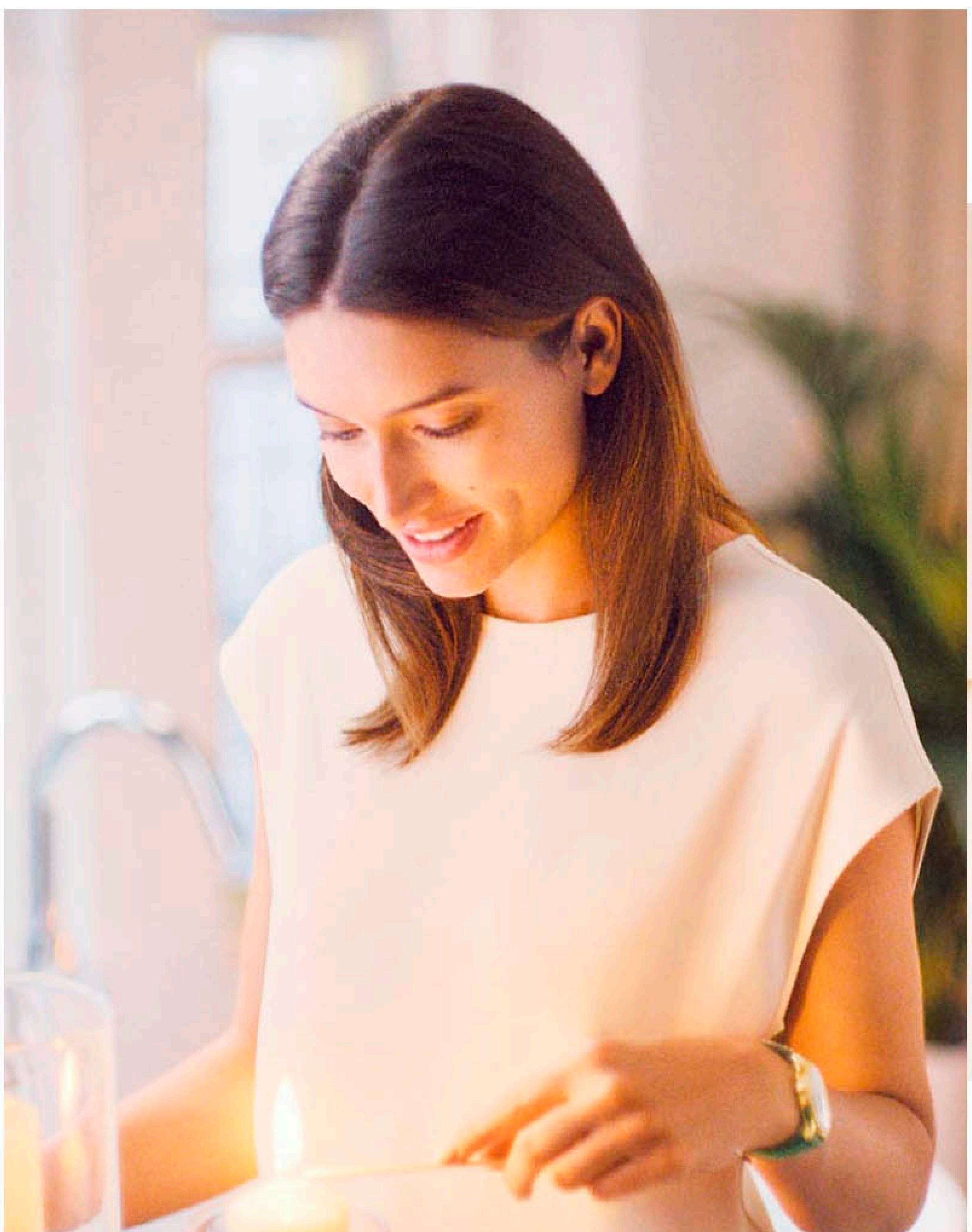
APPOINTMENT OF FINANCIAL ADVISER FOR ROOSEVELT HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, USA

EXTENSION IN SUBMISSION DATE

1. With reference to Privatisation Commission advertisement published in New York Times on September 08, 2023, the last date for submission of Technical and Financial Proposal is extended from **October 09, 2023** to **November 08, 2023, at 1500hrs PST.**
2. PC responses on clarifications sought are uploaded on PC website (https://www.privatisation.gov.pk)
3. All other Terms and Conditions shall remain the same.

Malik Babur Javed
Director General (I&T/P&U), Privatisation Commission, Government of Pakistan
dgamc@privatisation.gov.pk; +92 51 9204593

PATEK PHILIPPE
GENEVE

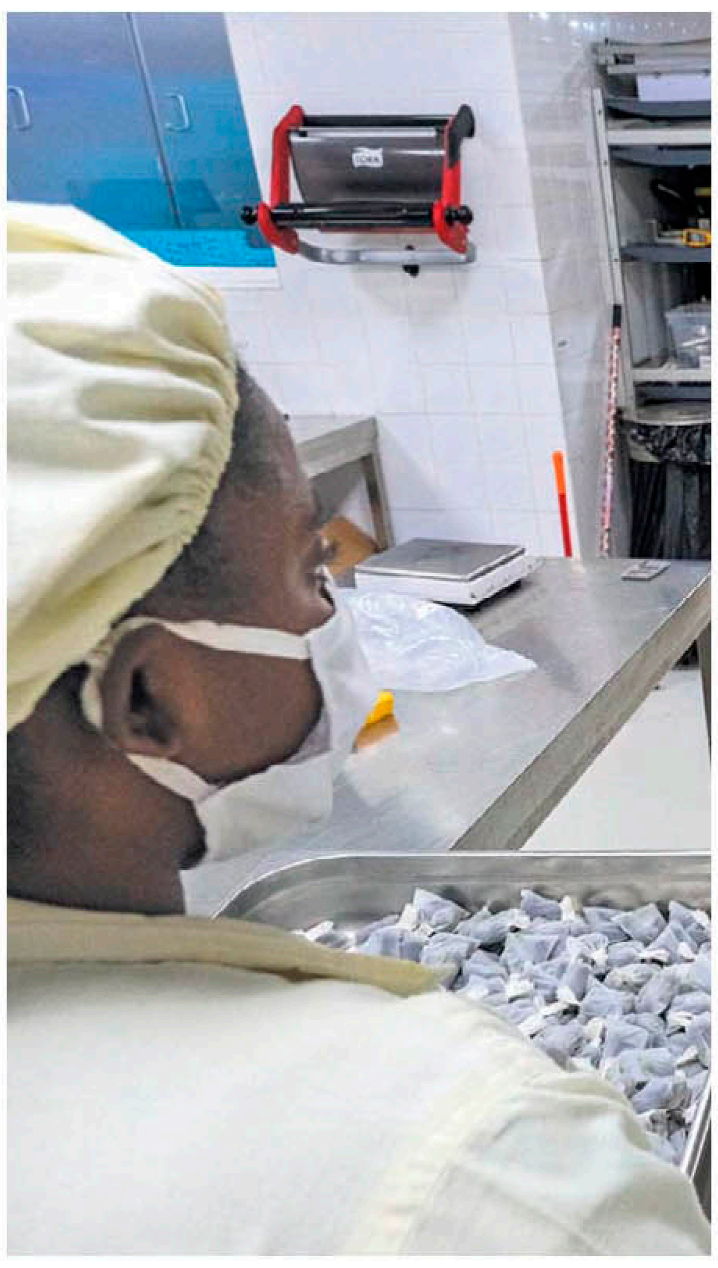


WORLD TIME REF. 7130R

BEGIN YOUR OWN TRADITION

TIFFANY & CO.
THE LANDMARK

INTERNATIONAL



Chocolate Factory Aims to Share Wealth at Home

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
multinationals.

Capturing a bigger share of the profits generated by chocolate sales and keeping them in Ghana — the second-largest cocoa exporter behind Ivory Coast — is the animating vision behind Fairafric. The aim is to manufacture the chocolate and create stable, well-paying jobs in the place where farmers grow the cocoa.

Many developing countries are lucky to have large reserves of natural resources. In Ghana, it's cocoa. In Botswana, it's diamonds. In Nigeria and Azerbaijan, it's oil. But the commodity blessing can become a curse when the sector sucks up an outsize share of labor and capital, which in turn hampers the economy from diversifying and stunts long-term growth.

"Look at the structure of the economy," Aurelien Kruse, the lead country economist in the Accra office of the World Bank, said of Ghana. "It's not an economy that has diversified fully."

The dependency on commodities can lead to boom-and-bust cycles because their prices swing with changes in supply and demand. And without other sectors to rely on during a downturn — like manufacturing or tech services — these economies can crash.

"Prices are very volatile," said Joseph E. Stiglitz, a former chief economist at the World Bank. In developing nations dependent on commodities, economic instability is built into the system.

But creating industrial capacity is exceedingly difficult in a place like Ghana. Outside large cities, reliable electricity, water and sanitation systems may need to be set up. The suppliers, skilled workers, and necessary technology and equipment may not be readily available. And start-ups may not initially produce enough volume for export to pay for expensive shipping costs.

Fairafric might not have succeeded if its founder and chief executive — a German social-minded entrepreneur named Hendrik Reimers — had not upended the status quo.

The pattern of exporting cheap raw materials to richer countries that use them to manufacture valuable finished goods is a hangover from colonial days. Growing and harvesting cocoa is the lowest-paid link in the chocolate value chain. The result is that farmers receive a mere 5 or 6 percent of what a chocolate bar sells for in Paris, Chicago or Tokyo.

Mr. Reimers's goal is aligned with the "fairchain movement," which argues that the entire production process should be in the country that produces the raw materials.

The idea is to create a profitable company and distribute the gains more equitably — among farmers, factory workers and small investors in Ghana. By keeping manufacturing at home, Fairafric supports other local businesses, like the paper company that supplies the chocolate wrappers. It also helps to build infrastructure. Now that Fairafric has installed the fiber optic connections in this rural area, other start-up businesses can plug in.

The last few years have severely tested the strategy. Ghana's economy was punched by the coronavirus pandemic. Russia's invasion of Ukraine fueled a rapid increase in food, energy and fertilizer prices. Rising inflation prompted the Federal Reserve and other central banks to raise interest rates.

In Ghana, the global headwinds exacerbated problems that stemmed from years of excessive government spending and borrowing.

As inflation climbed, reaching a peak of 54 percent, Ghana's central bank raised interest rates. They are now at 30 percent. Meanwhile, the value of the currency, the cedi, tumbled against the dollar, more than halving the purchasing power of consumers and businesses.

At the end of last year, Ghana defaulted on its foreign loans and turned to the International Monetary Fund for emergency relief.

"The economic situation of the country has not made it easy," said Frederick Affum, Fairafric's accounting manager. "Every kind of funding that we have had has been outside the country."

Even before the national default, Ghana's local banks were drawn to the high interest rates the government was offering to attract investors wary of its outsize debt. As a result, the banks were reluctant to invest in local businesses. They "didn't take the risk of investing in the real economy," said Mavis Owusu-Gyamfi, the executive vice president of the African Center for Economic Transformation in Accra.

Fairafric started with a crowdsourced fund-raising campaign in 2015. A family-owned chocolate company in Germany bought a stake in 2019 and turned Fairafric into a subsidiary.

In 2020, a low-interest loan of 2 million euros from a German development bank that supports investments in Africa by European companies was crucial to getting the venture off the ground.

Then the pandemic hit, and President Nana Akufo-Addo closed Ghana's borders and suspended international commercial flights. The shutdown meant that a team of German and Swiss engineers who had been overseeing construction of a solar-powered Fairafric factory in Amanase could not enter the country.

So Michael Marmon-Halm, Fairafric's managing director, wrote a letter to the president appealing for help.

"He opened the airport," Mr. Marmon-Halm said. "This company received the most critical assistance at the most critical moment."

Both Ghana and Ivory Coast, which account for 60 percent of the world cocoa market, have moved to raise the minimum price of cocoa and expand processing inside their borders.

In Ghana, the government created a free zone that gives factories a tax break if they export most of their product. And this month, Mr. Akufo-Addo announced an increase in the minimum price that buyers must pay farmers next season.

Fairafric, which buys beans from roughly 70 small farmers in the eastern region of Ghana, goes further, paying a premium for its organically grown beans — an additional $600 per ton above the global market price.

Farmers harvest the ripe yellow pods by hand, and then crack them open with a cutlass, or thick stick. The pulpy white beans are stacked under plantain leaves to ferment for a week before they are dried in the sun.

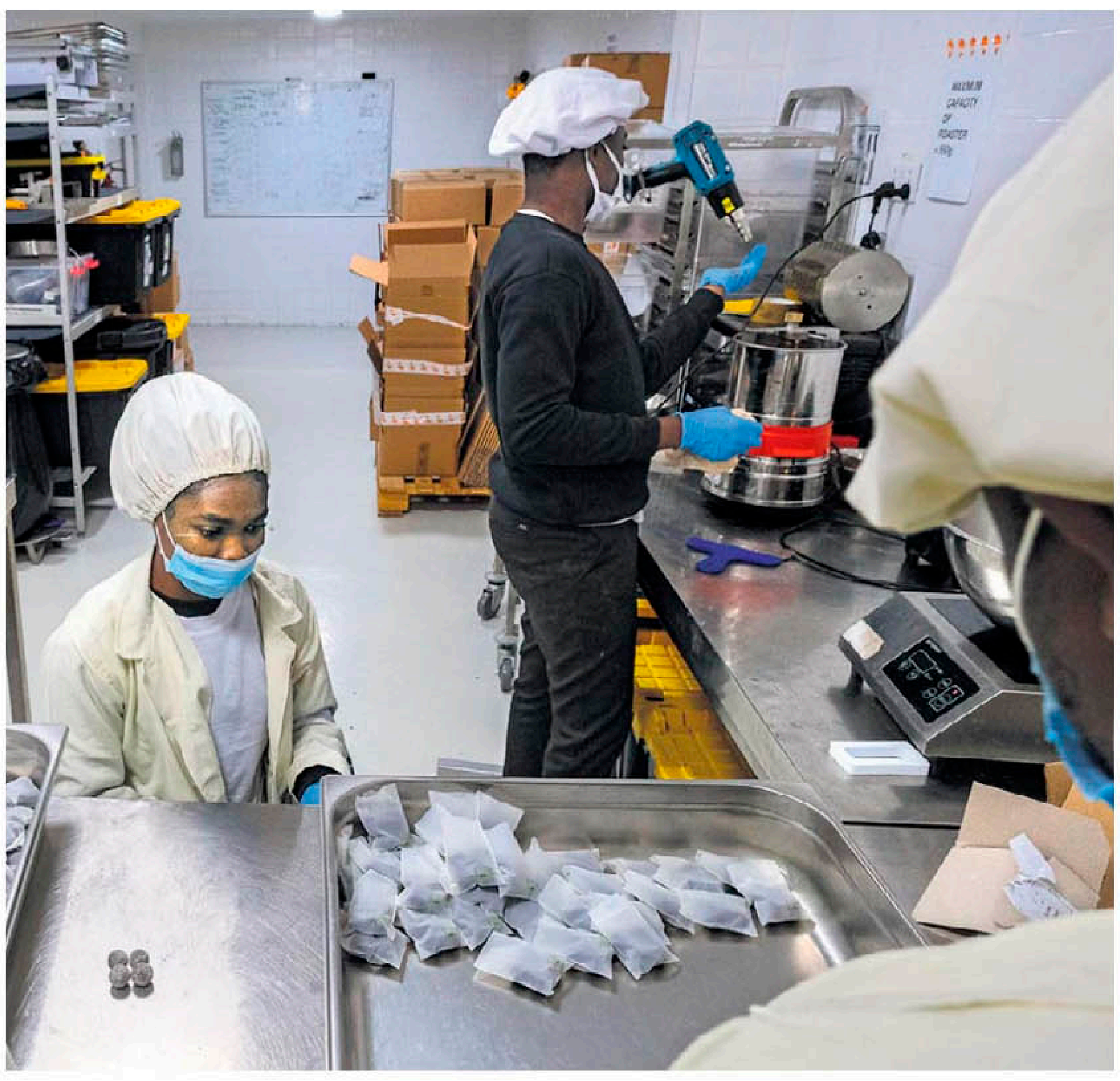
On the edge of a cocoa farm in Budu, a few minutes from the factory, a bare-bones, open-sided concrete shed with wooden benches and rectangular blackboards houses the school. Attendance is down, the principal said, because the school has not been included in the government's free school feeding program.

The factory employs 95 people. They have health insurance and are paid above the minimum wage. Salaries are pegged to the dollar to protect against currency fluctuations. Because of spotty transportation networks, the company set up a free commuter van for workers. Fairafric also installed a free canteen so all the factory shifts can eat breakfast, lunch or dinner on site.

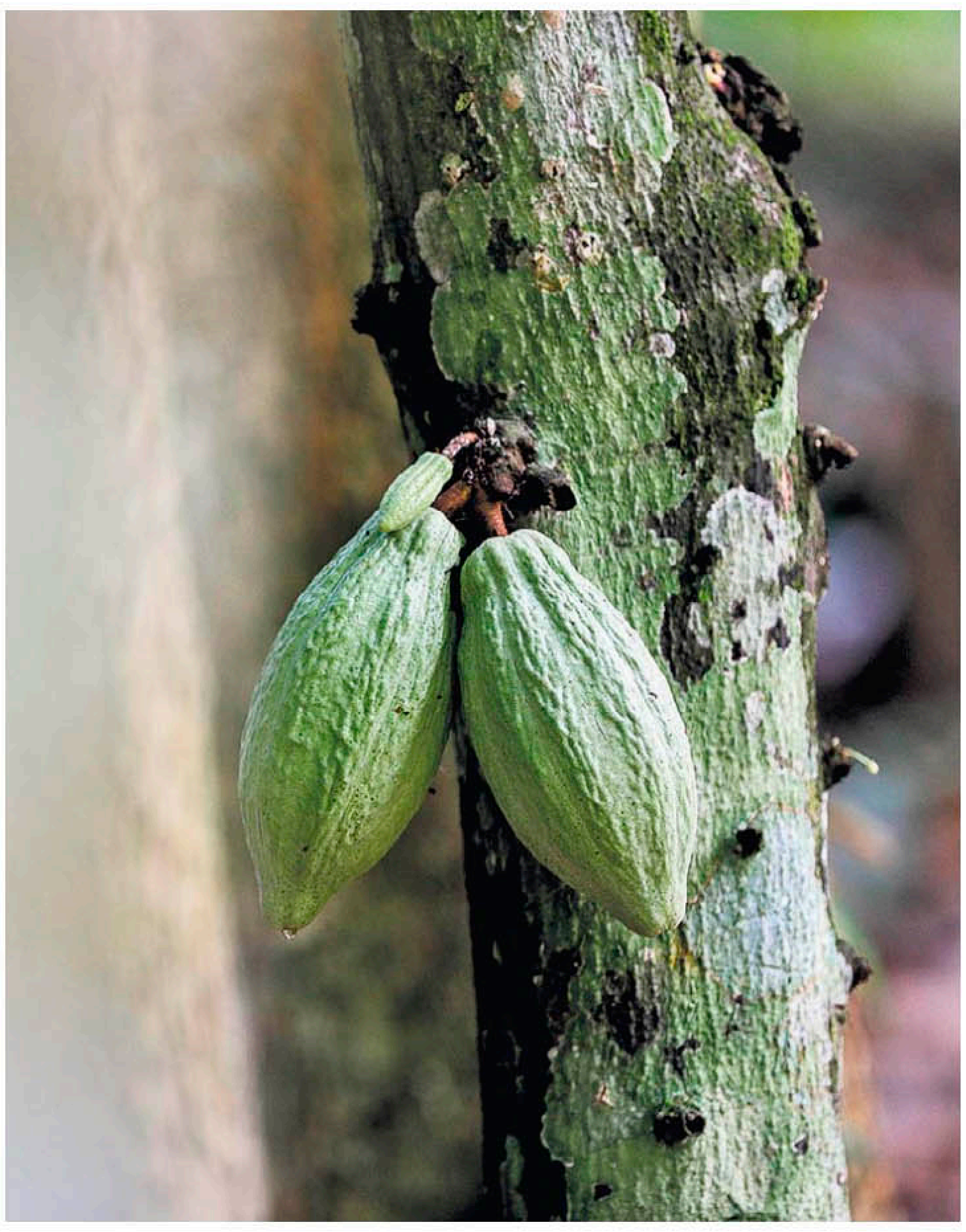
Mr. Marmon-Halm said the company was looking to raise an additional $1 million to expand. He noted that the chocolate industry generated an enormous amount of wealth.

But "if you want to get the full benefit," he said, "you have to go beyond just selling beans."

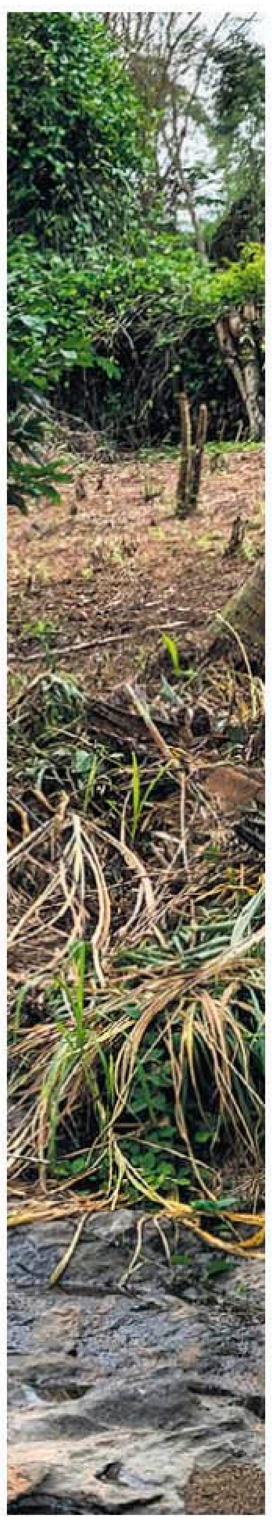
INTERNATIONAL



The Fairafric chocolate factory, below left, powered by solar energy in Amanase, Ghana. The company aims to create stable, well-paying jobs. Workers making and inspecting the chocolate products, left. By keeping manufacturing in Ghana, Fairafric supports other local businesses and helps to build infrastructure.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY FRANCIS KOKOROKO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Cocoa pods, and the pulpy white innards of a cracked bean, above. Students by a stream in the Budu cocoa farming village, far left, and a Fairafric worker visiting a cocoa farm, left. Hendrik Reimers, Fairafric's founder and chief executive, hews to the "fairchain movement," which argues that the entire production process should be in the country that produces the raw materials.

A New Kind of Deal Bringing a Swift Concert to a Theater Near You

By EPHRAT LIVNI

Just before Taylor Swift's concert film, "Taylor Swift: The Eras Tour," passed $100 million in global ticket presales last week, its distributor, AMC Entertainment, announced that it had struck a similar deal with Beyoncé for the singer's Renaissance tour. Both projects follow tours that have become cultural phenomena and pushed sales records, and the films are expected to be hits themselves.

The deals behind them are also unusual. Most big movies are distributed by a major studio. But Ms. Swift instead bypassed the studios, produced the concert film herself and sought distribution through AMC, a theater company rather than a movie studio. Theaters will keep less than half of the ticket proceeds, while Ms. Swift and AMC are expected to split the remainder. Ticket prices for adults will start at $19.89, a price that nods to the name of a Swift album and her birth year.

Beyoncé's deal for a release of her concert film in December appears to have parallels with Ms. Swift's arrangement.

AMC Entertainment, which stands to profit handsomely, may not have struck these deals if it weren't for a recent tweak to antitrust law. DealBook spoke to Makan Delrahim, the former Justice Department antitrust division chief who proposed that change to the law in 2018, about how it facilitated the pop stars' movie deals.

Ms. Swift's agreement includes some terms that would have been unlikely a few years ago. In 1938, the D.O.J. sued what were then the Big Five studios — MGM, Paramount, RKO, 20th Century Fox and Warner Brothers — for monopolizing the movie industry and forcing exhibitors to take unfavorable deals. In 1948, the studios entered into the "Paramount consent decrees," which limited their ability to own or control theaters. Over time, these rules became de facto standards for the industry, Mr. Delrahim said, and Ms. Swift and Beyoncé may not have been able to make the deals they did if the decrees were still in effect.

Mr. Delrahim said he saw the decrees — which were created before streaming, cable and television had established new types of competition for theaters — as a "misguided form of government intervention in the free markets" that "stunts innovation and pro-consumer business practices." After a period of public comment, he asked a federal judge to dissolve the consent decrees, and the court agreed. The expiration of certain parts of the decrees has allowed for new innovations in movie deal making, Mr. Delrahim said.

Ms. Swift was able to make one deal with AMC for all of its theaters, and it could make agreements with other movie theater chains that cover all of their theaters. Under the Paramount consent decrees, standard practice was to negotiate with theaters individually instead of licensing to a block of theaters at once. But because the law changed, Ms. Swift did not need to negotiate with individual theaters. She had to negotiate only with AMC. The new way is "much more efficient and allows for innovative practices such as the Taylor Swift deal with AMC," Mr. Delrahim said.

Another change allowed for minimum ticket prices. Previously, a studio couldn't require a theater to keep prices above a particular floor. "Had the decrees been in effect, it's likely that the specific price that Ms. Swift required for her upcoming film, which reflects her birthday year, wouldn't have been allowed," Mr. Delrahim said. "Given the early demand, it's probably underpriced, but it's great for the consumer and for Ms. Swift's fans." Beyoncé's tickets will be priced at $22, also a minimum price that would not have been tolerated in the time of the decrees.

Not everyone is a fan of the new norms for movie deals. Some have argued that the dissolution of the decrees have made things more fair for major studios competing with streamers while leaving independent producers to struggle to get their movies shown and exhibitors to have trouble bringing certain films to their theaters. Critics have said a more effective alternative would have been enshrining the restrictions into updated regulations that applied widely to all industry players, including relatively new entrants like streaming services, instead of eliminating norms. But as Ms. Swift might say, and has sung, "Would've, Could've, Should've."

The strike economy

What had been a summer of strikes is stretching well into the fall — and involving more and more workers.

Tens of thousands of workers at Kaiser Permanente, a giant health care system, walked off the job last week after they failed to reach a deal on a new contract. That has expanded the number of Americans on the picket line to at least 250,000 workers, the most since several statewide teacher strikes in 2019. Here are the biggest employee actions taking place.

- SAG-AFTRA, which represents 150,000 actors, is closing in on a third month of a strike that continues to cripple Hollywood.
- The United Automobile Workers has more than 25,000 members on picket lines against the Big Three Detroit automakers. (That is less than 20 percent of the total U.A.W. members working at Ford, General Motors and Stellantis because the union is targeting a small number of locations at a time.)
- More than 75,000 Kaiser Permanente workers walked off the job in five states and the District of Columbia.

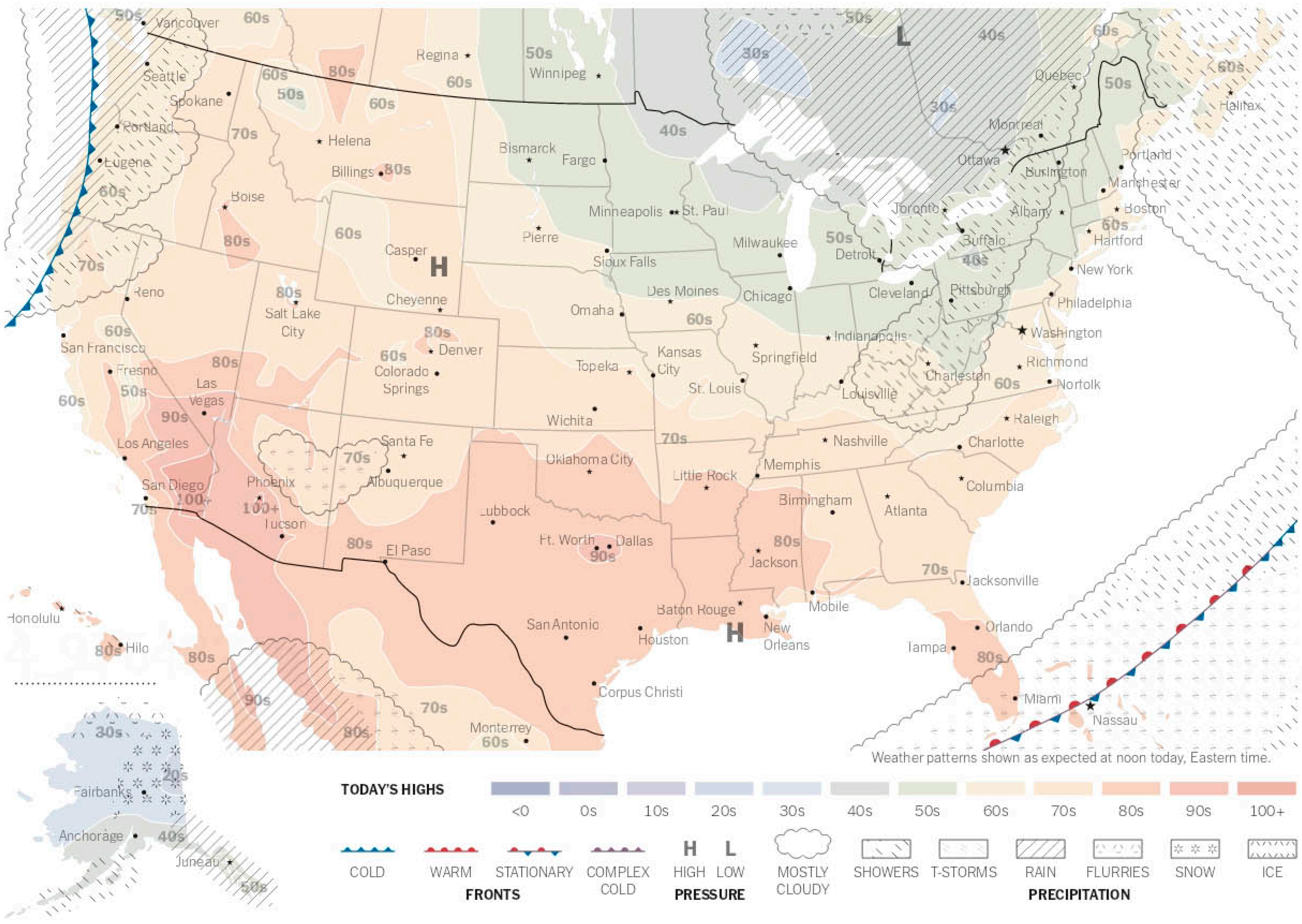
Another 300,000 workers nearly walked off the job this summer, but UPS agreed to a new labor contract with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in August. And about 11,500 screenwriters went back to work last month after leaders of the Writers Guild of America voted to end their 148-day picketing of major Hollywood studios.

DealBook/

DealBook helps you make sense of the day's most important business and policy headlines. Sign up for the newsletter at **nytimes.com/dealbook**

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

TODAY ....Breezy with some sunshine

High 59. There will be a partly sunny sky to start the workweek. It will be breezy with low pressure to our north still affecting our weather pattern. Winds will be 10 to 20 miles per hour.

TONIGHT ....Mostly cloudy

Low 52. There will be plenty of clouds with breezy conditions that may continue into the evening. Winds will be 4 to 8 m.p.h. Temperatures will be a few degrees below average.

TOMORROW ....Morning showers

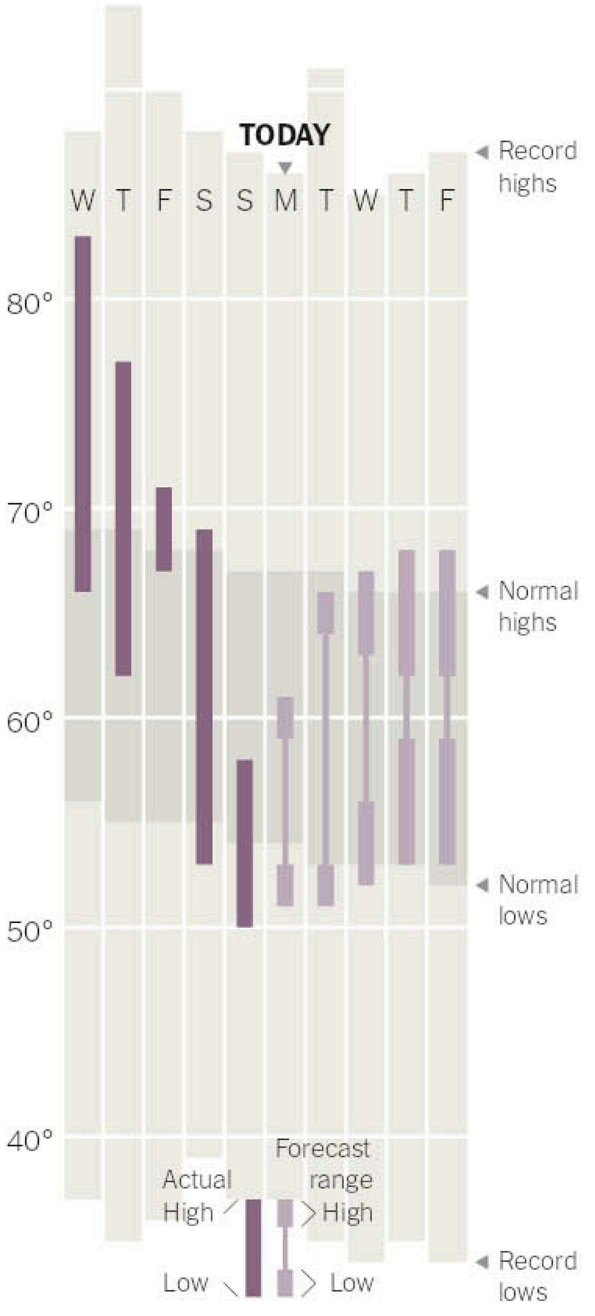
High 65. Expect showers in the morning. Otherwise, it will be partly sunny. It will not be as breezy, with winds at 6 to 12 m.p.h. Temperatures will rise, but will still be a few degrees below average.

WEDNESDAY ....Mostly sunny

A mostly sunny sky is in store, with winds at 6-12 m.p.h. Temperatures will be near average. High 65.

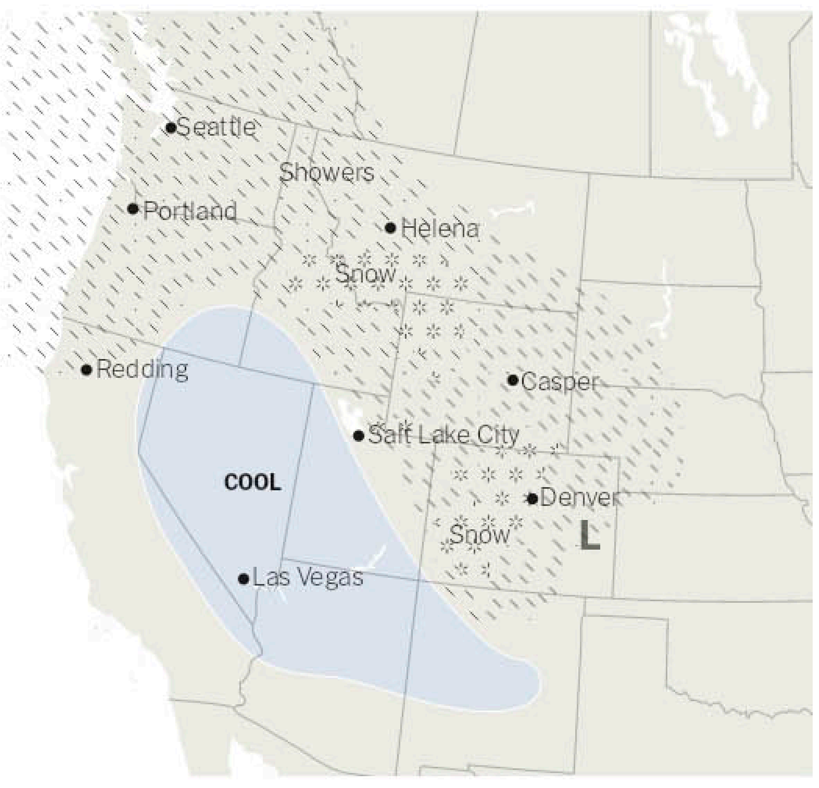
THURSDAY
FRIDAY ....Showers, then sunshine

Thursday, it will be mostly cloudy. Showers cannot be ruled out. High 65. On Friday, it will be partly sunny with temperatures near average. High 65.



Highlight: Midweek Storm Unfolds in the West

A storm will unfold across the western United States through the middle of the week, spreading rain showers from the Pacific Northwest to the Rockies. Behind the storm, a rush of cooler air and dropping temperatures will move in, enough for some of the higher elevations to have accumulating snow.



National Forecast

A wide area of showers will remain in place from New York through western Kentucky today. Showers are expected to be most numerous in western Kentucky through West Virginia. Meanwhile, conditions in much of New England will be dry, with the exception of far western Maine.

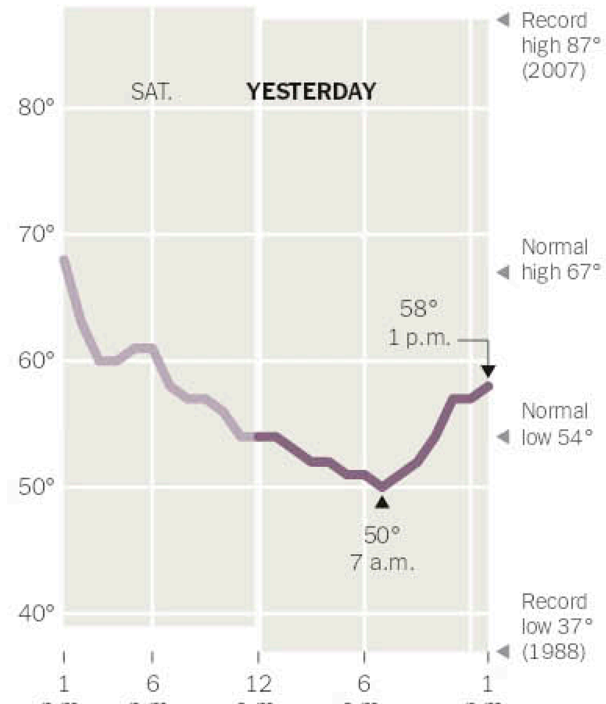
Chilly air will continue to expand into the Northeast, bringing November-like temperatures into the region. Warm air will remain stationary over Southern California and south-central Arizona, while much of the rest of the Southwest begins to slightly cool off.

At the same time, a storm will begin to push ashore in the Northwest, bringing periodic rainfall along the coast and an expanding pool of cooler air. Showers will expand inland during the afternoon hours.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 13 hours ended at 1 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature



Avg. daily departure from normal this month .... +4.9°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +2.1°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 90%
Est. normal 77%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.00
Record 4.30

For the last 30 days
Actual 14.64
Normal 4.38

For the last 365 days
Actual 56.97
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure

High .... 29.70 10 a.m.
Low .... 29.64 3 a.m.

Humidity

High .... 76% 3 a.m.
Low .... 61% 11 a.m.

Heating Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature fell below 65

Yesterday.. 11
So far this month................................ 15
So far this season (since July 1) 54
Normal to date for the season 67

Trends

Last	Temperature (Average: Below / Above)	Precipitation (Average: Below / Above)
10 days	Above	Above
30 days	Average	Above
90 days	Average	Above
365 days	Above	Average

Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

New	First Quarter	Full	Last Quarter
Oct. 14 1:53 p.m.	Oct. 21	Oct. 28 4:23 p.m.	Nov. 5

Sun	RISE	7:00 a.m.	**Moon**	R	1:44 a.m.
	SET	6:26 p.m.		S	4:35 p.m.
	NEXT R	7:01 a.m.		R	2:47 a.m.
Jupiter	S	9:27 a.m.	**Mars**	R	8:04 a.m.
	R	7:37 p.m.		S	6:55 p.m.
Saturn	S	3:19 a.m.	**Venus**	R	3:15 a.m.
	R	4:43 p.m.		S	4:29 p.m.

Boating

From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be out of the southwest at 10-15 knots. Waves will be 1-3 feet on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound and 3-5 feet on the ocean. Visibility will be unrestricted to the horizon.

High Tides

Atlantic City	4:38 a.m.	4:49 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	4:42 a.m.	4:51 p.m.
The Battery	5:22 a.m.	5:37 p.m.
Beach Haven	6:01 a.m.	6:14 p.m.
Bridgeport	8:18 a.m.	8:39 p.m.
City Island	8:57 a.m.	9:19 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	5:29 a.m.	5:42 p.m.
Montauk Point	6:06 a.m.	6:34 p.m.
Northport	8:43 a.m.	9:01 p.m.
Port Washington	9:06 a.m.	9:26 p.m.
Sandy Hook	4:43 a.m.	4:56 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	4:29 a.m.	4:47 p.m.
Stamford	8:33 a.m.	8:51 p.m.
Tarrytown	7:11 a.m.	7:26 p.m.
Willets Point	8:56 a.m.	9:17 p.m.

Northeast Foliage

High to near-peak colors were observed across most of northern New York State and northern New England, with moderate foliage colors across the Twin Tiers of northern Pennsylvania and southern New York. For viewing conditions, showers may occur across western and northern New York. It will be dry elsewhere.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C .... Clouds; F .... Fog; H .... Haze; I .... Ice; PC .... Partly cloudy; R .... Rain; Sh .... Showers; S .... Sun; Sn .... Snow; SS .... Snow showers; T .... Thunderstorms; Tr .... Trace; W .... Windy; – .... Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	58/ 50 0	60/ 52 PC	65/ 52 PC
Bridgeport	61/ 50 0	61/ 48 PC	65/ 45 PC
Caldwell	60/ 48 0	59/ 44 PC	67/ 44 PC
Danbury	59/ 47 0	59/ 43 PC	65/ 41 PC
Islip	62/ 47 0	63/ 53 PC	67/ 53 PC
Newark	62/ 49 0	61/ 48 PC	67/ 46 PC
Trenton	57/ 45 0	59/ 44 PC	65/ 42 PC
White Plains	59/ 47 0	59/ 45 PC	63/ 45 PC

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	63/ 42 0.02	58/ 41 PC	61/ 42 Sh
Albuquerque	79/ 54 0	79/ 53 S	78/ 55 PC
Anchorage	41/ 34 0.29	45/ 32 C	40/ 30 SS
Atlanta	69/ 48 0	74/ 55 S	79/ 62 PC
Atlantic City	63/ 49 0	64/ 53 W	68/ 52 PC
Austin	81/ 51 0	87/ 63 S	83/ 65 T
Baltimore	62/ 45 0	65/ 45 PC	69/ 44 PC
Baton Rouge	80/ 49 0	84/ 58 S	85/ 64 PC
Birmingham	71/ 47 0	78/ 57 S	81/ 60 PC
Boise	85/ 54 0	81/ 52 S	65/ 45 C
Boston	66/ 49 0	62/ 49 PC	64/ 51 Sh
Buffalo	53/ 45 0.16	52/ 46 W	53/ 48 Sh
Burlington	60/ 46 0.04	58/ 43 PC	58/ 44 Sh
Casper	77/ 36 0	76/ 41 S	75/ 47 C
Charlotte	68/ 42 0	73/ 52 S	76/ 54 S
Chattanooga	68/ 43 0	77/ 51 S	78/ 53 PC
Chicago	56/ 42 0.02	57/ 41 PC	59/ 44 PC
Cincinnati	56/ 44 0	61/ 41 C	63/ 42 PC
Cleveland	55/ 40 0.01	54/ 43 W	57/ 43 C
Colorado Springs	77/ 44 0	75/ 46 S	77/ 47 PC
Columbus	55/ 44 0	58/ 41 C	61/ 40 PC
Concord, N.H.	63/ 39 0.05	60/ 36 PC	60/ 37 Sh
Dallas-Ft. Worth	81/ 61 0	91/ 66 S	86/ 67 S
Denver	79/ 45 0	79/ 47 S	80/ 49 PC
Des Moines	70/ 42 0	61/ 38 PC	65/ 49 S
Detroit	56/ 39 0.01	55/ 42 PC	55/ 44 C
El Paso	83/ 58 0	87/ 62 S	89/ 62 S
Fargo	63/ 38 0	57/ 33 S	57/ 35 S
Hartford	64/ 43 0	61/ 42 PC	63/ 43 Sh
Honolulu	89/ 74 0	89/ 75 PC	89/ 73 PC
Houston	78/ 54 0	85/ 64 S	82/ 66 PC
Indianapolis	57/ 42 Tr	59/ 42 PC	63/ 41 PC
Jackson	76/ 45 0	84/ 57 S	87/ 61 PC
Jacksonville	74/ 46 0	78/ 51 S	82/ 61 PC
Kansas City	78/ 44 0	68/ 43 S	71/ 54 S
Key West	89/ 79 0	86/ 79 T	87/ 81 PC
Las Vegas	94/ 67 0	93/ 67 S	89/ 64 S
Lexington	61/ 48 0	68/ 39 Sh	69/ 43 S
Little Rock	75/ 53 0	83/ 55 S	82/ 59 S
Los Angeles	90/ 62 0	82/ 61 S	78/ 62 S
Louisville	65/ 49 0	68/ 44 PC	69/ 47 S
Memphis	71/ 54 0	79/ 56 S	82/ 62 S
Miami	90/ 74 0.24	86/ 76 T	88/ 78 T
Milwaukee	58/ 41 0	58/ 42 PC	56/ 43 PC
Mpls.-St. Paul	59/ 40 0	55/ 39 PC	56/ 41 S
Nashville	68/ 50 0	75/ 49 S	75/ 52 S
New Orleans	75/ 57 0	82/ 61 S	83/ 68 PC
Norfolk	66/ 49 0	69/ 54 S	72/ 56 PC
Oklahoma City	78/ 52 0	83/ 54 S	85/ 65 S
Omaha	73/ 40 0	63/ 38 PC	66/ 53 S
Orlando	81/ 64 0	84/ 66 S	87/ 71 PC
Philadelphia	63/ 48 0	63/ 50 PC	66/ 50 PC
Phoenix	100/ 72 0	100/ 74 S	99/ 73 S
Pittsburgh	55/ 42 0.01	54/ 42 C	57/ 41 PC
Portland, Me.	64/ 44 0	59/ 40 C	60/ 46 Sh
Portland, Ore.	78/ 60 0.01	64/ 53 R	61/ 52 Sh
Providence	65/ 46 0	62/ 47 PC	66/ 47 Sh
Raleigh	67/ 41 0	72/ 50 S	76/ 52 PC
Reno	87/ 52 0	72/ 47 PC	70/ 45 PC
Richmond	66/ 44 0	69/ 50 PC	75/ 48 PC
Rochester	54/ 43 0.17	53/ 45 PC	54/ 46 C
Sacramento	92/ 58 0	72/ 58 PC	75/ 53 PC
Salt Lake City	78/ 52 0	81/ 57 S	72/ 49 C
San Antonio	78/ 58 0	83/ 67 S	78/ 67 T
San Diego	81/ 65 0	76/ 65 PC	73/ 65 PC
San Francisco	73/ 61 0	71/ 61 Sh	71/ 57 PC
San Jose	85/ 57 0	73/ 60 Sh	73/ 55 PC
San Juan	95/ 79 0.05	93/ 80 PC	93/ 78 PC
Seattle	73/ 55 0	62/ 51 R	58/ 50 Sh
Sioux Falls	70/ 38 0	60/ 35 PC	62/ 42 S
Spokane	79/ 51 0	75/ 48 PC	57/ 46 C
St. Louis	72/ 48 0	67/ 47 S	70/ 54 S
St. Thomas	90/ 81 0	90/ 80 PC	89/ 80 S
Syracuse	58/ 45 0.04	57/ 47 PC	56/ 48 C
Tampa	78/ 62 0	84/ 64 S	86/ 73 PC
Toledo	56/ 39 0.01	56/ 40 PC	59/ 42 PC
Tucson	96/ 66 0	94/ 64 S	95/ 65 S
Tulsa	79/ 52 0	79/ 52 S	83/ 65 S
Virginia Beach	67/ 50 0	70/ 57 S	74/ 59 PC
Washington	65/ 47 0	65/ 49 PC	68/ 47 PC
Wichita	81/ 49 0	78/ 49 S	84/ 64 S
Wilmington, Del.	61/ 42 0	63/ 43 PC	67/ 44 PC

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	83/ 61 0	82/ 58 S	82/ 58 S
Cairo	87/ 69 0	88/ 71 S	87/ 71 S
Cape Town	73/ 56 0	74/ 54 S	78/ 54 S
Dakar	99/ 80 0	91/ 80 C	90/ 79 PC
Johannesburg	89/ 55 0	79/ 58 PC	83/ 59 T
Nairobi	86/ 57 0	86/ 61 PC	85/ 59 PC
Tunis	81/ 64 0	83/ 65 S	85/ 65 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	99/ 73 0	98/ 74 PC	97/ 75 PC
Bangkok	90/ 79 0.27	90/ 77 T	88/ 76 T
Beijing	71/ 54 0.07	77/ 49 S	74/ 49 PC
Damascus	90/ 63 0	88/ 61 PC	84/ 56 T
Hong Kong	80/ 73 3.04	80/ 74 Sh	82/ 74 R
Jakarta	97/ 79 0	95/ 79 C	94/ 78 Sh
Jerusalem	81/ 63 0	79/ 64 C	78/ 59 S
Karachi	91/ 79 0	93/ 80 PC	92/ 80 S
Manila	90/ 79 0.01	89/ 77 T	91/ 79 T
Mumbai	91/ 81 0	93/ 79 PC	93/ 79 PC
New Delhi	101/ 76 0	98/ 79 S	94/ 77 S
Riyadh	102/ 73 0	103/ 75 S	101/ 75 S
Seoul	72/ 54 0	71/ 52 PC	74/ 51 PC
Shanghai	74/ 62 0.01	78/ 60 PC	77/ 62 C
Singapore	91/ 80 0.01	91/ 79 PC	90/ 79 T
Sydney	70/ 50 0	76/ 60 S	71/ 60 PC
Taipei City	80/ 74 0.30	79/ 72 T	77/ 71 R
Tehran	82/ 61 0	83/ 66 S	84/ 65 PC
Tokyo	70/ 60 0.20	67/ 64 R	77/ 63 Sh

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	66/ 55 0	68/ 54 C	70/ 62 C
Athens	82/ 66 0	82/ 61 S	80/ 66 S
Berlin	59/ 47 0.32	56/ 46 C	62/ 55 C
Brussels	73/ 55 0	72/ 54 C	74/ 57 PC
Budapest	66/ 57 0	65/ 51 C	63/ 47 C
Copenhagen	54/ 43 0	55/ 46 C	58/ 56 C
Dublin	70/ 50 0	69/ 58 PC	68/ 53 C
Edinburgh	55/ 48 0.20	61/ 56 C	65/ 49 R
Frankfurt	72/ 57 0	74/ 52 C	75/ 51 PC
Geneva	73/ 46 0	79/ 51 S	78/ 53 PC
Helsinki	43/ 34 0.31	45/ 29 PC	45/ 40 C
Istanbul	73/ 61 0	69/ 56 PC	70/ 58 S
Kyiv	59/ 45 0.16	52/ 36 PC	52/ 35 PC
Lisbon	91/ 63 0	92/ 66 S	88/ 63 S
London	77/ 55 0	75/ 56 PC	73/ 59 PC
Madrid	88/ 55 0	85/ 52 PC	84/ 50 S
Moscow	46/ 34 0.43	38/ 34 R	38/ 28 C
Nice	79/ 66 0	79/ 66 S	76/ 64 S
Oslo	49/ 34 0	50/ 34 C	52/ 47 R
Paris	81/ 52 0	79/ 51 PC	80/ 54 PC
Prague	63/ 48 0.12	62/ 51 C	66/ 51 C
Rome	80/ 59 0	83/ 60 S	84/ 60 S
St. Petersburg	41/ 33 0.26	41/ 30 PC	42/ 35 S
Stockholm	47/ 36 0	46/ 29 S	49/ 43 C
Vienna	70/ 52 0.07	69/ 55 Sh	71/ 50 PC
Warsaw	54/ 43 0.04	50/ 33 PC	54/ 42 PC

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	79/ 74 0.12	84/ 73 R	85/ 73 R
Bermuda	82/ 76 0.01	78/ 73 R	80/ 72 Sh
Edmonton	57/ 36 0	74/ 38 S	67/ 42 PC
Guadalajara	70/ 61 0	77/ 59 T	78/ 60 C
Havana	90/ 71 0	89/ 74 PC	91/ 75 PC
Kingston	93/ 81 0.04	91/ 81 T	91/ 81 R
Martinique	91/ 75 0	91/ 78 PC	90/ 75 PC
Mexico City	62/ 55 0.12	73/ 57 R	74/ 55 R
Monterrey	64/ 60 0.22	73/ 64 Sh	72/ 66 Sh
Montreal	54/ 48 0.51	55/ 46 C	54/ 45 C
Nassau	88/ 74 0	89/ 75 PC	88/ 78 Sh
Panama City	82/ 75 0.05	86/ 76 R	87/ 76 T
Quebec City	61/ 50 0.15	57/ 41 Sh	56/ 43 C
Santo Domingo	90/ 77 0.03	92/ 75 Sh	92/ 76 Sh
Toronto	50/ 45 0.01	52/ 44 C	54/ 45 Sh
Vancouver	62/ 51 0	62/ 52 R	57/ 50 Sh
Winnipeg	52/ 28 0	52/ 30 S	52/ 39 C

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	75/ 59 0	80/ 63 S	80/ 52 PC
Caracas	90/ 76 0.14	94/ 76 T	94/ 77 T
Lima	67/ 62 0	70/ 62 C	70/ 63 PC
Quito	66/ 45 0.14	67/ 45 R	67/ 44 Sh
Recife	86/ 75 0.07	84/ 77 PC	84/ 77 S
Rio de Janeiro	84/ 73 0.56	80/ 70 T	77/ 72 C
Santiago	73/ 41 0	81/ 48 S	69/ 43 PC

Commercial Real Estate

The two-story glass atrium on Sacred Heart's West Campus was built to make the space more welcoming. Some sections, like this administrative suite, have not been renovated since G.E. occupied the space, but new furniture was added.

Heading to Class in the Corner Office

As companies with hybrid work forces cut back on space, universities buy buildings at bargain prices.

Square Feet
By JANE MARGOLIES

FAIRFIELD, CONN. — When Jack Welch, the longtime chief executive of General Electric, presided over a global headquarters on a sylvan expanse in Fairfield, Conn., in the 1980s and '90s, he probably did not envision college students streaming into its two pristine office buildings. But on a recent morning, students at Sacred Heart University headed to classrooms on floors once filled with file cabinets and cubicles.

Not that all the students at the Roman Catholic university were aware that their classes were in the former home of a multinational conglomerate or were even familiar with the name General Electric.

"I don't really know what it means, but it's pretty cool it was something else," said Mia Romano, an exercise science major who had grabbed breakfast at a snack bar in a big, bright atrium. The university added it recently to one of the buildings as part of its $67 million acquisition and conversion of the 66-acre site into its new West Campus.

At some colleges and universities these days, back to school means back to office buildings.

Dozens of institutions of higher education across the United States have bought office buildings since 2018, including 49 four-year private schools and 16 four-year public institutions, according to data from JLL, a real estate services company. Some of the country's best-known institutions have made purchases this year, including the University of California, Los Angeles, which bought an Art Deco landmark in downtown Los Angeles.

For schools seeking to expand, or just beef up their real estate portfolios, the purchases can be a bonanza: With the office market in a slump, they have bought buildings at bargain prices. Renovations are usually needed, but a makeover is typically not as expensive or as time-consuming as building from scratch.

"It's a different use but doesn't need special changes to the building," said Dror Poleg, an economic historian and author of "Rethinking Real Estate" and the forthcoming "After Office."

Still, repurposing the buildings for academic use isn't going to solve the country's empty-office problem, set off by the pandemic shift to remote work. "It stands out because almost nothing else is happening on the office market," Mr. Poleg added.

Three years after the start of the coronavirus pandemic, the nationwide office availability rate is more than 24 percent, according to data from the real estate services company Savills, a jump from 17 percent before the pandemic as property owners struggle with many companies' reduced demand for leased square footage. The value of some office buildings has dropped so much that some landlords are simply letting banks that hold the mortgages take them over.

Government officials and real estate professionals are eager to convert office buildings to homes, given the national housing shortage. But those conversions require overcoming a host of regulatory and architectural challenges, from rezoning for residential use to installing what could be dozens or even hundreds of kitchens and bathrooms, not to mention ensuring that apartments have windows.

Schools aren't going after just office buildings. As more students elect to live on campus and colleges run out of dormitory space, some have resorted to acquiring hotels. But low prices for office buildings have enticed many institutions, even if they don't have an immediate need for the real estate.

George Washington University exercised an option to buy a 10-story office building from an arm of the World Bank last year, paying a mere $11.5 million for a property valued at $230 million. The building, adjacent to the campus in Washington, houses the Washington Passport Agency on a lease that runs through 2028. A university spokeswoman said the school had not identified a long-term use for the site.

But the University of Southern California bought another office building in Washington to use immediately as a satellite campus, bolstering its presence in the capital, where students do internships in federal offices.

U.S.C. had been leasing space in Washington for years, but with cash in hand and market conditions in its favor, it paid about $49 million for a building in Dupont Circle that had been built in the 1960s for the National Association of Broadcasters. The seller, Stream Realty Partners, had bought the building for more than $31 million in 2018 and then spent about $20 million on improvements.

"The idea of creating a campus structure in D.C. came up pretty recently," said the U.S.C. president, Carol L. Folt. "It really came to fruition quickly."

One college got an office building free: The University of Louisville was given a building in Louisville, Ky., by Humana, a health insurance company that found it no longer needed the space with so many of its employees working remotely.

There can be a downside for towns and cities when colleges or universities acquire office buildings: They typically don't pay taxes on their academic buildings and dorms, so the transactions may take properties off the tax rolls.

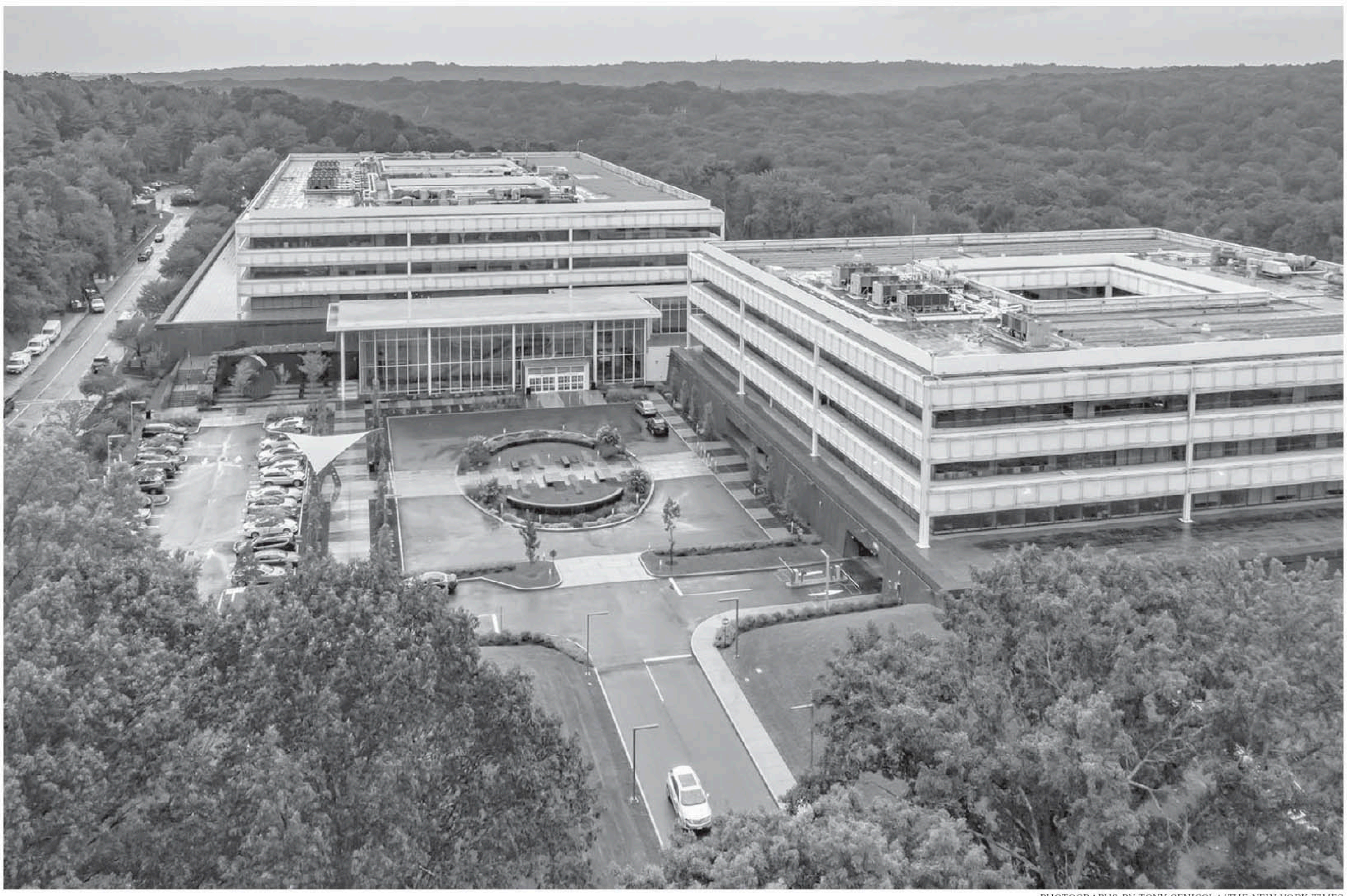
But lately, some elected officials have encouraged the sales in the hopes of enlivening downtowns that have gone quiet as workers have stayed away. The institutions can bring employment, prestige and foot traffic that can benefit restaurants and stores.

Not all office buildings can be easily adapted for academic use. If a school is looking to add lab space, office ceilings may not be high enough to accommodate the ductwork needed for enhanced ventilation. And if an office building has large floors, it may be difficult to ensure every classroom has natural light.

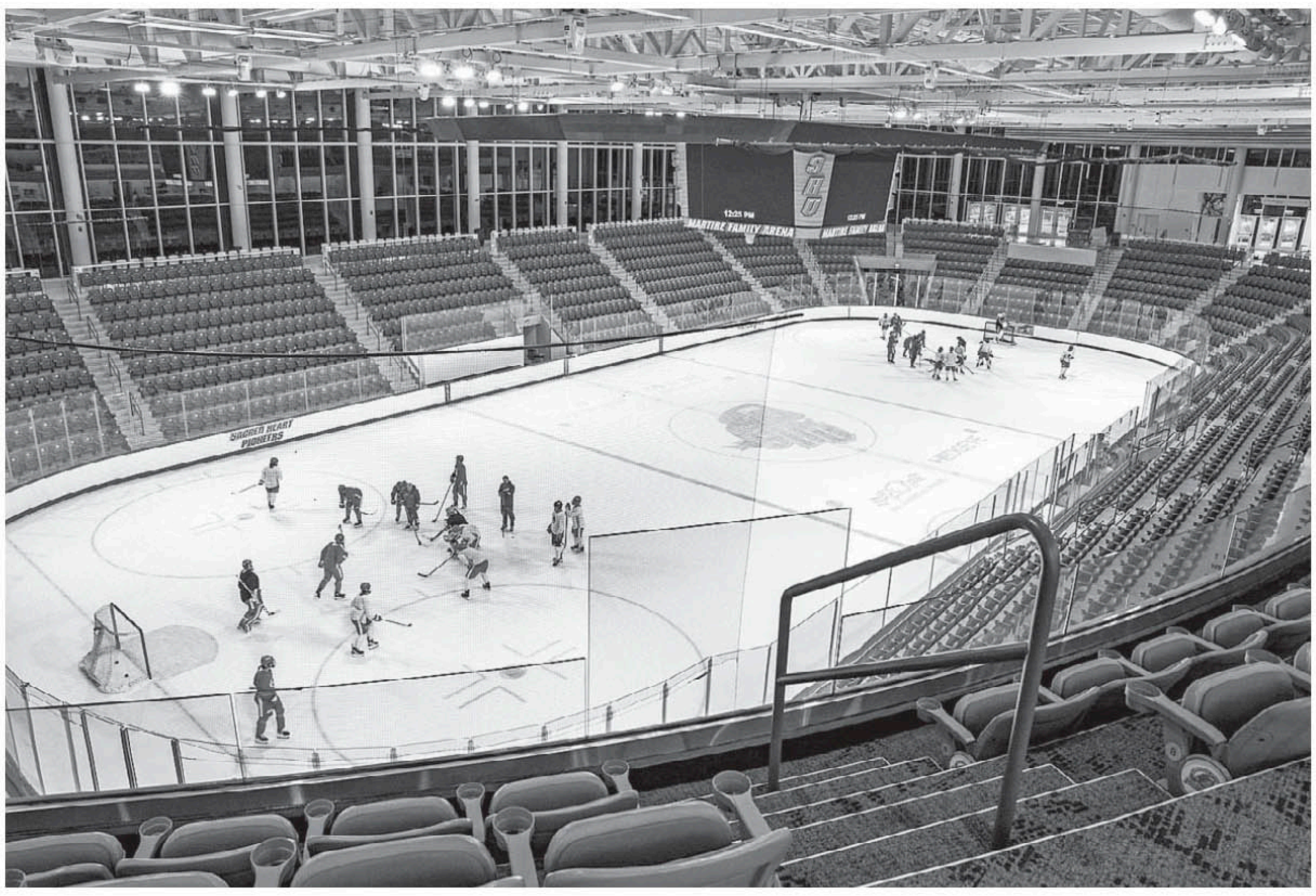
Neither challenge was a factor in Sacred Heart University's transformation of the G.E. headquarters.

Erected in 1974, when large companies were fleeing cities and building campuses in the suburbs, the headquarters had been a world unto itself, with a medical center, a credit union, a barbershop, dining facilities, a fitness center and a hair salon. The three-story office buildings sat atop parking garages and had central courtyards bringing natural light to interiors. Workers would drive to the property and into the garages and then take elevators to floors outfitted with wall-to-wall cubicles.

"It was a fortress," said John J. Petillo, Sacred Heart's president.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY TONY CENICOLA/THE NEW YORK TIMES



Sacred Heart University, which bought General Electric's former headquarters in Fairfield, Conn., in 2016, has spent $67 million on the acquisition and conversion of the 66-acre site into its new West Campus. Left, the school's ice hockey team practicing last month in the Martire Family Arena. It opened in January.

But when G.E. put its property on the market and moved to Boston, Sacred Heart — a quarter-mile away and on a growth tear — jumped at the chance to expand, spending $31.5 million in 2016 to buy a property that had been valued at more than twice that, Mr. Petillo said. (The university had long had cordial relations with the company and had named its business school after Mr. Welch.)

To make the buildings more welcoming, the S/L/A/M Collaborative, an architecture firm, replaced the medical center with the atrium — glass walls, double height — as a lounge for students.

"You want to create spaces that are a mixing pot," said Kevin Herrick, a managing principal at S/L/A/M.

His firm spruced up some spaces: An auditorium got new carpeting and seating with fold-down writing surfaces. A student lounge was added next to what had been the company cafeteria.

Elsewhere, S/L/A/M created a maker space, a finance lab, dance studios, classrooms and faculty offices. Other divisions of the university moved to the new campus, including the business school, which has a wall tribute to Mr. Welch in its lobby.

The renovation cost about $200 per square foot, less than half the cost to build from scratch, Mr. Herrick said. And there are environmental benefits to using existing structures.

Still to be overhauled is G.E.'s former executive suite — a rarefied realm for Mr. Welch and his top deputies, with inlaid floors and walls enlivened with panels of stone or anigre wood.

Sacred Heart plans to turn the floor into a conference center. But the university's board is already holding meetings in the old G.E. boardroom, which is an improvement over where it used to meet — "on the top floor of the basketball building," Mr. Petillo said.

TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

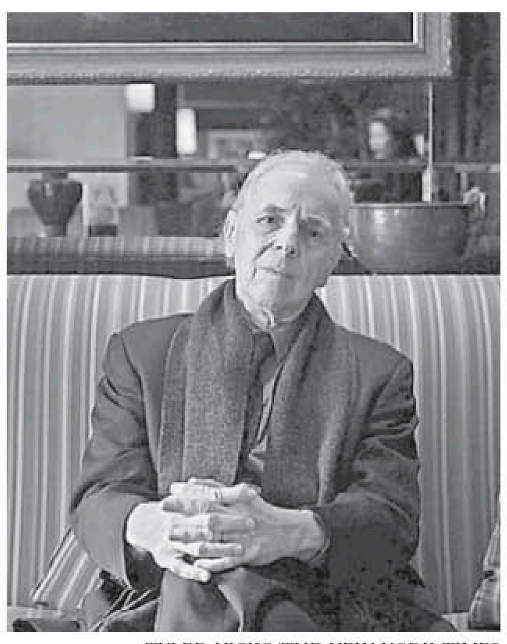
Mr. Sherman when he lived at the elegant Essex House hotel on Central Park South in New York. He started piano lessons at 6.

Russell Sherman, 93, A Poetic Interpreter At the Piano, Is Dead

By VIVIEN SCHWEITZER

Russell Sherman, a pianist admired for his poetic and idiosyncratic interpretations of Schoenberg, Beethoven, Debussy, Liszt and others, died on Sept. 30 at his home in Lexington, Mass. A longtime music educator as well, he was 93.

His death was confirmed by his wife, the pianist Wha Kyung Byun.



TYLER HICKS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Sherman in 2005 at the Essex House. He continued to stay there over the years when he was in the city for a concert.

Mr. Sherman, who gave his last recital at 88, made his name performing virtuoso works such as Franz Liszt's daunting "Transcendental Études." Referring to the composer's reputation as a showman, Mr. Sherman told The New York Times in 1989 that he was engaged in a "lifelong battle to reconstitute Liszt as a serious composer."

He recorded the Études on cassette in 1974 and in 1990 for Albany Records. "The poetic idea is central," he wrote in the liner notes for the second recording, "and the virtuoso elements become so many layers to orchestrate the poetic content."

Mr. Sherman was in many ways an anti-virtuoso; he devoted much of his time to other interests, like poetry, philosophy and photography. In the late 1950s, instead of becoming a touring concert pianist, he left New York to teach piano at Pomona College in California and the University of Arizona in Tucson.

In 1967, he began a long tenure at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, hired by its president at the time, the composer Gunther Schuller. Mr. Schuller, who founded GM Recordings in 1981, produced a Beethoven album by Mr. Sherman, who became the first American pianist to record the complete Beethoven sonatas and piano concertos.

On a GM Recording album, "Russell Sherman: Premieres and Commissions," Mr. Sherman performed works composed for him in the 1990s by Mr. Schuller, Robert Helps, George Perle and Ralph Shapey. His recordings also include works by Claude Debussy and Arnold Schoenberg, as well as Chopin Mazurkas, the complete Mozart Piano Sonatas and Bach's English Suites.

Mr. Sherman began giving public concerts again in the 1970s. He performed with the New York Philharmonic, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the Philadelphia Orchestra and the Boston Symphony Orchestra as well as major European orchestras.

JACK VARTOOGIAN

Russell Sherman at the Miller Theater in New York City in 1994. He last performed at age 88.

His concerts drew devoted fans who admired his dramatic interpretations. In 2016, the critic Jeremy Eichler of The Boston Globe wrote that in works by Schoenberg, Beethoven, Debussy and Liszt, Mr. Sherman's playing, "while still demonstrating a formidable athletic prowess, also conveyed his abiding gifts of fantasy and insight."

His idiosyncrasies were often noted. Reviewing a performance of Liszt's Sonata in B minor and two Beethoven sonatas at Carnegie Hall in 1984, the Times critic Will Crutchfield wrote: "It is possible to feel that he distorts, infuses too much into little," but added that it was "better instead to salute in Mr. Sherman's concert an antidote to the many that are played week after week in which listeners are lucky if their interest is genuinely caught once or twice in the whole evening."

Some two decades later, Allan Kozinn wrote in The Times that Mr. Sherman's "interpretive style, it should be said, is an acquired taste," but that his "performances are usually illuminating alternatives to the standard view."

Mr. Sherman resented these accusations of eccentricity. "I think of myself as a compassionate conservative" who responded "radically to the score and nothing but the score," he told The Times in 2000. He suggested that listeners who disliked his interpretations lacked imagination.

Russell Sherman was born on March 25, 1930, in Manhattan and lived at the elegant Essex House hotel on Central Park South with his parents and three older brothers. Their neighbors included Rudolf Bing, the general manager of the Metropolitan Opera; the opera singers Lauritz Melchior and Lily Pons; and the pianist Clifford Curzon.

Mr. Sherman's father, Moses Sherman, was a manufacturer of women's raincoats, and his mother, Irene (Schwartz) Sherman, was a homemaker. Russell inherited his father's love of fashion.

He started piano lessons at age 6. At 11, he joined the studio of the Polish-born pianist and composer Eduard Steuermann, who had studied with Schoenberg and Ferruccio Busoni and who encouraged his students to take interpretive risks. This inspired Mr. Sherman's own ethos that performers should strive for what he called "personal wildness and conviction" in their interpretations.

Performances should 'invite danger,' 'tell a story' and 'court the madness of art.'

He made his concert debut at 15, at Town Hall in Manhattan, and began undergraduate studies at Columbia University the same year. He graduated with a degree in the humanities in 1949 and later studied composition with the German composer Erich Itor Kahn.

Mr. Sherman married Wha Kyung Byun, a Korean-born former student of his, in 1974; she began teaching at the New England conservatory in 1979. They sometimes celebrated their anniversaries by performing together.

In a phone interview, she recalled soirees at their house, where students would read different roles in Shakespeare plays. Mr. Sherman, a passionate baseball fan, was also an avid photographer with an interest in light, shadows and trees. He often read science books, determined to master concepts he initially found challenging.

While teaching at the New England Conservatory, he was also a visiting professor at Harvard University and at Juilliard in New York. He and his wife sometimes taught the same students, such as the pianist Minsoo Sohn, who joined the faculty in 2023. Other former students include the pianists HaeSun Paik, Christopher Taylor and Christopher O'Riley.

In 1996, Mr. Sherman published "Piano Pieces," a compilation of essays about teaching and performing. "Notes may be missed but not casually flubbed," he wrote. "Phrases may be askew but not aimlessly drifting. Sonorities may be brazen but not barren. The player has to say something, with verve and style."

In addition to his wife, survivors include his sons Edward and Mark, from his marriage to the pianist Natasha Koval, which ended in divorce, and several grandchildren.

"I think that musical performances should be free," Mr. Sherman once said, and "should invite danger, should tell a story, should court the 'madness of art,' should in every way reveal the characteristics and visions of the composers."

Reviewing Mr. Sherman's performance of Prokofiev and Beethoven at age 17, the reviewer noted that "how individual a pianist he is remains to be seen," but that the "searching way" he interpreted music boded well.

Mr. Sherman never abandoned that spirit of inquiry. According to his wife, when he was interviewed by the Nexus Institute in Amsterdam and asked what he wanted written on his tombstone, he replied: "A quest."

Murray Stenson, 74, Seattle Mixologist Who Quietly Led a Cocktail Renaissance

By CLAY RISEN

Murray Stenson didn't look like a revolutionary. Balding and slightly stooped, the son of a small-town grade-school principal, he spent decades quietly making cocktails at bars around Seattle, honing his classic, unfussy style. He favored regulars over celebrities, steady work over flair, handwritten notes over email.

He shunned attention, even as his fame grew alongside the rise of craft cocktails in the 2000s. When he was named the best bartender in America in 2010 by Tales of the Cocktail, an annual conference in New Orleans, he refused to go to the ceremony. He said he had a shift to fill.

And yet the cocktail renaissance of the last 20 years would be unthinkable without Mr. Stenson, who died on Sept. 22 at his home in Seattle. He was 74.

His daughter, Cali Freddolino, confirmed the death and said he had been dealing with complications of Guillain-Barré syndrome, a nerve disorder.

Mr. Stenson was among a small group of bartenders who as early as the 1980s began to push back against the sickly sweet concoctions of the 1970s — Sex on the Beach, Harvey Wallbanger — in favor of elevated drinks made with quality ingredients, a seemingly obvious approach that was almost unthinkable when he began.

"For American bartenders at the time, Murray was a complete anomaly," Jim Meehan, the author of "Meehan's Bartender Manual" (2017), said in a phone interview.

ERIKA SCHULTZ/THE SEATTLE TIMES, VIA AP

He was known, above all, for resurrecting a pre-Prohibition cocktail called the Last Word.

He was known, above all, for resurrecting a forgotten pre-Prohibition cocktail called the Last Word, made with equal parts gin, lime juice, green chartreuse and maraschino liqueur. He discovered it in a 1951 cocktail book and added it to his menu, and within a few years it had not only spread nationwide but had become the archetype for a whole genre of modern classic cocktails, like the Paper Plane and the Gin Blossom.

He worked at often nondescript bars that didn't stay that way for long once he arrived. His longest stints were at Il Bistro in the 1990s and Zig Zag Cafe in the 2000s, both of which became sites of pilgrimage for cocktail fans and budding craft mixologists, who would crowd around the bar to watch the master at work, taking detailed notes on his every move.

"When I was starting out in the cocktail world, I had heard stories about Murray Stenson from various industry people in New York City, and as far away as London," Franky Marshall, a bartender and educator, wrote in an email.

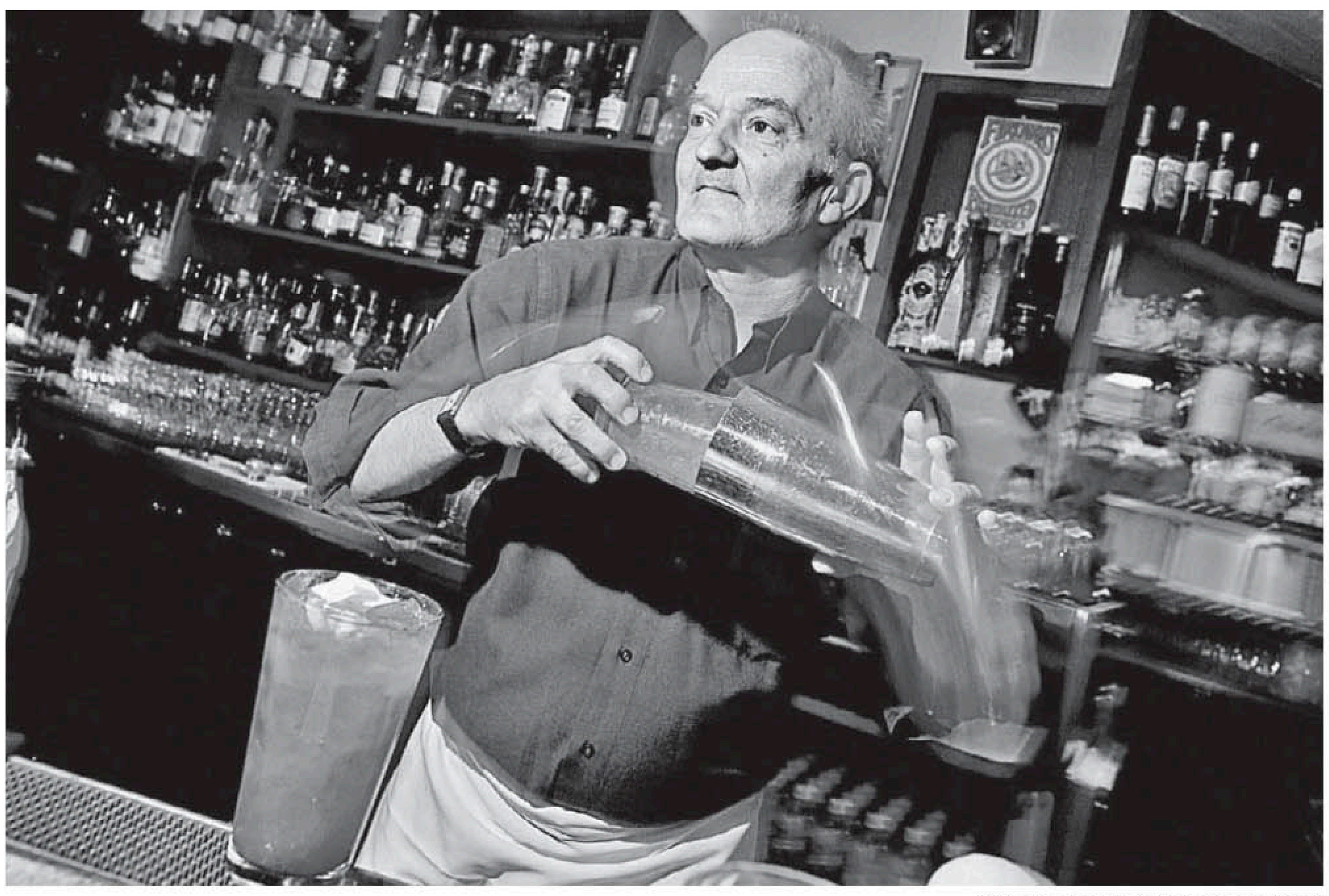
In 2010, the same year that Tales of the Cocktail named Mr. Stenson the best bartender in America, Esquire named Zig Zag Cafe the best bar in America, largely on the strength of his bartending, beating out famed New York establishments like Please Don't Tell, Death & Co. and the Clover Club.

Mr. Stenson did not consider himself a mentor. He did not write books or become a highly paid brand ambassador, as many successful bartenders do, especially once they reach middle age and their bodies start to rebel against hours of constant standing. Well into his 60s, and even after open-heart surgery in 2012, he worked up to seven nights a week.

"I enjoy being behind the bar," he told Imbibe magazine in 2012. "That's where you meet all the really interesting people."

Murray Russell Stenson was born on July 29, 1949, in Colville, a small town in northeastern Washington. His father, Wayne, was a grade school principal, and his mother, Eileen (Anderson) Stenson, was a homemaker.

The family moved to Kirkland, a Seattle suburb, when Murray was young. He attended Shoreline Community College, north of Seattle, but left before graduating.



STUART ISETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Murray Stenson in 2008. He pushed back against the sickly sweet concoctions of the 1970s.

He married Cynthia Carson in 1980; they divorced in 1982. That year he married Antonia Busto; they divorced two years later. In addition to his daughter, he is survived by his son, Colin; his sister, Loree Stenson; and three grandchildren.

Mr. Stenson spent several years working entry-level jobs he despised: He sold shoes, assembled doors and stocked a Safeway grocery store at night.

He was lounging by the pool of his apartment complex one day when the owner's son came by with an offer. He had a restaurant with a bar, and he needed someone to man it. Was he interested?

The restaurant, Benjamin's, was the first of many spots where, over the next 20 years, Mr. Stenson learned his trade. Cocktails were popular, but also loaded with sugar and artificial sweeteners.

"God only knows how many Sex on the Beaches he made," Paul Clarke, the editor of Imbibe magazine and a longtime regular at Mr. Stenson's bars, said in a phone interview.

He came by his art in part by necessity. When one boss spent the bar's profits on cocaine, Mr. Stenson was forced to economize and improvise, coming up with creative twists on old standards. When other bars started copying his menu, he added drinks made with obscure ingredients that only he knew how to procure.

More than anything, he learned hospitality. He was naturally shy, but also curious and warm, and he learned how to bring those qualities to the job. He had a mind for faces, and could remember details about the most irregular of customers — names, where they sat, what they ordered.

He was named the best bartender in America in 2010.

He cultivated a network of friends and contacts. When someone asked him for a recommendation for a bar in a different city, he would write down the name, then staple a $20 bill to the paper, telling them to use it as a tip.

For up-and-coming bartenders, Mr. Stenson was a refreshing throwback to a quasi-mythical era when bartenders doubled as best friends, news sources and community organizers — all while mixing the perfect drink.

"Even if he didn't make good drinks, he would still be a great bartender," said Robert Hess, a cocktail expert who, through his blog Drinkboy, was among the first to bring word about Mr. Stenson to the national public in the late 1990s.

The accolades for Mr. Stenson transformed the Zig Zag Cafe into a tourist attraction, with regulars fighting with lookie-loos for one of the bar's 12 seats. Calling it a "Disneyland," he quit in 2011.

He spent the next few years hopping around Seattle bars, working for short stretches at Canon, Il Bistro and, most recently, a Japanese restaurant, Kaname Izakaya. But his health was in decline, and after the pandemic, he stopped working.

Even after he had put away his shaker for good, he shrugged off the honors and fame.

"Eh. It was OK. I don't see what the big deal was," he told the writer Casey Robison in a 2020 interview. "I only ever saw myself as a bartender."

Deaths

Boas, Gilbert

BOAS—Gilbert H., died peacefully on Friday, September 29, 2023 in Palo Alto, California. Gilbert was born in Paris, France on December 23, 1927. After graduating from Harvard University Gilbert worked at Stewart Stamping Co. where he became the company's president. Following his retirement, he served on the Board of Northside Center for Child Development and volunteered at the Museum of Natural History and the New York Historical Society. Gilbert was predeceased by his wife and soul mate Hilda Boas with whom he enjoyed a loving 65-year marriage. He was also predeceased by his sister Francoise. He is survived by his adored daughters Diane and her husband Barry Schklair, Patty and her husband Gary Paladin,grandchildren Ali (Lorenz), Ben, Kate, and Jack, brother Jean-Pierre, niece Valerie and nephew Herve. Family and friends appreciated his warmth, intelligence, wit, and knowledge of history and art. He was our rock, upon whom we could rely for unconditional love, a genuine interest in our respective pursuits, and a willingness to drive us anywhere anytime. A celebration of life will take place later this fall. Donations in Gilbert's memory may be made to Northside: www.northsidecenter.org.

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS:
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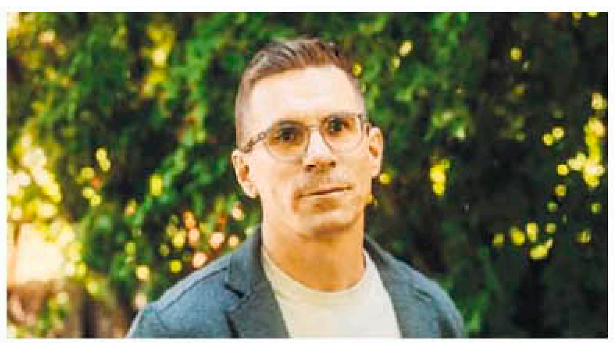
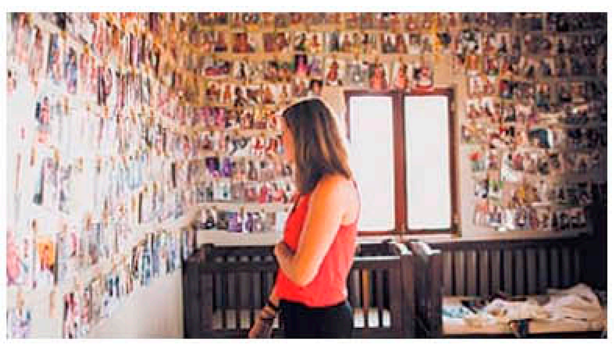
2 ASK A SHOWRUNNER
Shaping emotional journeys in the 'Loki' multiverse.

3 TELEVISION
A mission to help Ugandan children ends in tragedy.





4 MUSIC
Riccardo Muti takes a victory lap with the Chicago Symphony at Carnegie Hall.

HOLLAND COTTER | ART REVIEW

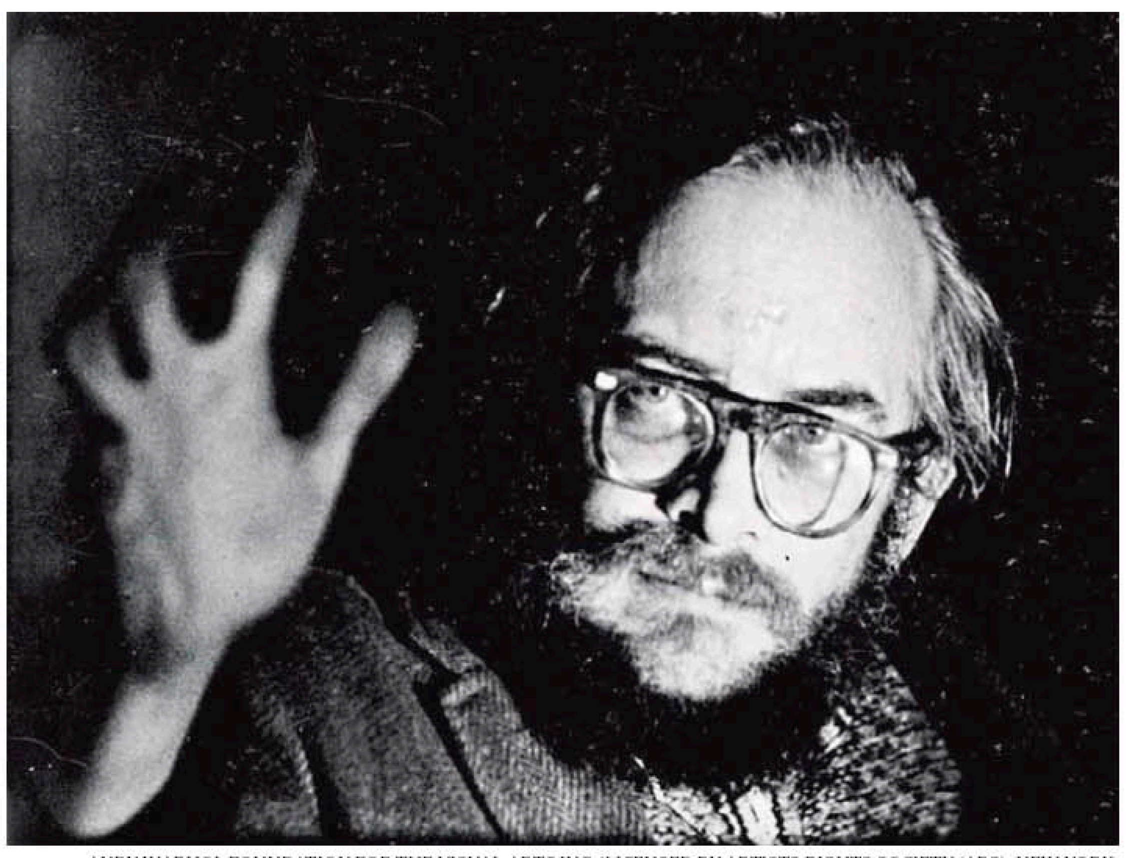
VIA ANTHOLOGY FILM ARCHIVES; HARRY SMITH ARCHIVES; GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, LOS ANGELES

Showcasing a Culture-Altering Shaman

An exhibition takes on the legacy of a painter, hoarder and underground legend. It also hints at what has been lost.

"FAR-OUT" is an accurate, but inadequate, descriptor for the high-flying (and often plain high) cultural magus Harry Smith (1923-1991). And the label "polymath," too, while true, falls short for this innovative painter-filmmaker-collagist-musicologist-designer-scholar-curator-collector/hoarder, whose very first and very strange (it could not be otherwise) institutional solo is at the Whitney Museum of American Art.

When speaking of Smith, it's hard to know where to begin, or end. To the degree that he is familiar at all in the art world (never mind in the real world) it's as an experimental filmmaker. His chief reputation, however, lies in a different field, music, notably as the compiler of the six-disc 1952 LP



ANDY WARHOL FOUNDATION FOR THE VISUAL ARTS INC./LICENSED BY ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK; VIA THE ANDY WARHOL MUSEUM, PITTSBURGH

Top, a still from Harry Smith's "Film No. 18: Mahagonny, 1970-80," a collage shot in 1970s Manhattan. Above, Smith in a 1964 "Screen Test" by Andy Warhol. Each is in the Smith retrospective at the Whitney Museum of American Art.

CRITIC'S PICK
Fragments of a Faith Forgotten: The Art of Harry Smith
Whitney Museum of American Art

collection called the "Anthology of American Folk Music," an ethnological document that had a subtle but palpable role in moving the nation's sociopolitical needle in a revolutionary direction during the civil rights and Vietnam era.

How to present such a figure, whose work is so grounded in sound and visual motion, in a traditional museum setting naturally presents a problem, which the Whitney has handily solved by bringing in an object-based artist, the sculptor Carol Bove, as installation designer.

Bove has created a big, film-friendly black-box-style container for the show. And she has placed down at its center a zigzagging walled corridor for the display of little-

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BEATRICE LOAYZA | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

A Movie Is More Than a Story

New York Film Festival auteurs revel in moods and sensations.

IT'S TIME TO TAKE A STAND against the tyranny of "story." In Hollywood these days, "story" and "storyteller" are privileged terms, seemingly interchangeable with "films" and anyone who makes them — a distressing development considering the medium's wild range of possibilities.

The "story" framing used to feel fresh, anchored, however tenuously, to the effort to bridge racial and gender diversity gaps in the industry. It's not just one kind of story, this line of thinking goes, but *all* colors and stripes of good stories that matter.

As I sank into my first week of screenings at this year's New York Film Festival, which runs through Sunday, this sentiment didn't

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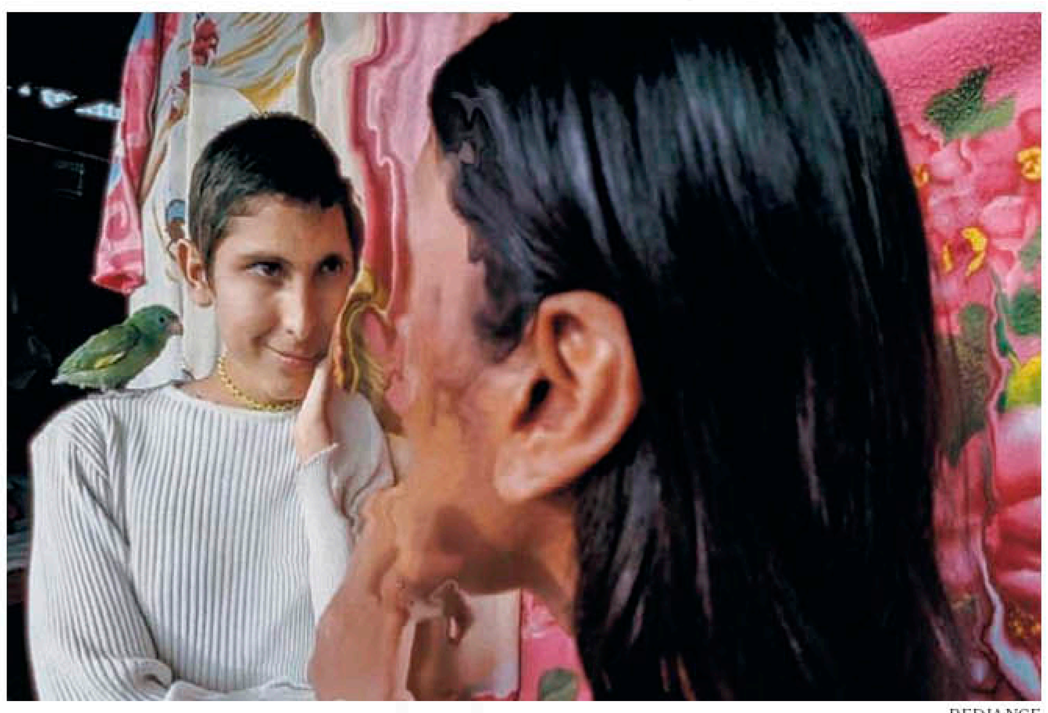


REDIANCE

"The Human Surge 3," from Eduardo Williams, is one of a number of offerings at the New York Film Festival in which plot is rendered secondary.

AMANDA HESS | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Midair Meltdowns Have Us Hooked

In 2023, the plane is a stage for viral comedies of manners.

IN SEPTEMBER, a 10-second TikTok kicked off weeks of debate. A wobbly camera stared down the center aisle of an airplane. A short story appeared, overlaid in white text: "I was seated next to a mom who had a baby in her lap and a toddler beside her. It was a lot. I offered to switch seats with the dad, who was a few rows up, so he could be with his family. He says 'Great, thanks' AND SENDS OVER ANOTHER SMALL KID TO SIT WITH THE MOM. He enjoyed a kid-free flight."

The video was accompanied by a note — "A little sunday rage for ya" — and a soundtrack of women screaming. It has been viewed 6.6 million times.

The dispatch, posted by Kristine Sostar McLellan, co-founder of the postpartum care company One Tough Mother, felt like an episode in a long-running internet-wide reality show — a show about people who are bad on airplanes, at least according to the social media users who surveil them. TikTok videos and Reddit threads are always beckoning me into a cramped seat, asking me to scrutinize random travelers and litigate their disputes. I don't fly much anymore, but I think about flying all the time.

The plane, in 2023, has become a stage for

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

ASK A SHOWRUNNER

Evolving in the Marvel Cinematic Universe

Eric Martin discusses themes and additions regarding the second season of 'Loki.'

By CHRISTOPHER KUO

Loki has worn many hats since his initial appearance in the Marvel Cinematic Universe in 2011.

In the first "Avengers" movie, the God of Mischief, played by Tom Hiddleston, descended on New York City with an alien army. In "Thor: Ragnarok," he teamed up with his brother to protect the people of Asgard, morphing from villain to antihero. And now, in the second season of the "Loki" television series, which premiered Thursday on Disney+, he embarks on a new and unlikely mission — saving the Time Variance Authority.

Season 2 of "Loki" takes place in the aftermath of the mayhem from the first installment, in which Loki and Sylvie (Sophia Di Martino), a free-spirited Loki variant, arrived at the end of history. There, they discovered He Who Remains (Jonathan Majors), the time-bending scientist who masterminded the T.V.A. to prevent another war between the many variants of himself.

When Sylvie stabs He Who Remains, she plunges the T.V.A. and the Sacred Timeline into chaos, unleashing the multiverse. As Season 2 commences, new worlds branch from the timeline, T.V.A. forces splinter into factions and Loki grapples with a problem called time-slipping as he is caught in a tug of war between past and present.

To preserve the T.V.A., Loki reunites with familiar characters — including the wry Mobius (Owen Wilson) and Hunter B-15 (Wunmi Mosaku) — as well as new ones, such as O.B., a T.V.A. fix-it man played by the Oscar-winning actor Ke Huy Quan, and Victor Timely, a 19th-century inventor and Kang variant played by Majors. (Majors is facing charges related to a misdemeanor assault case after being arrested in March in New York. Filming for Season 2 of "Loki" had already finished before the arrest.)

With the original director, Kate Herron, leaving the project, Justin Benson and Aaron Moorhead, who helped direct "Moon Knight," became the new lead directors on most of the episodes. Eric Martin, who helped write some of the first season's episodes, has become head writer.

In a video call from his writing studio in Los Angeles, Martin spoke about crafting the plot and characters of Season 2 and working with Quan in his new role.

What were some of the themes you had in mind as you wrote the script for this show?

I think the most important thing to me is just character and emotionality. I wanted to have everything driven by the wants and needs of our characters and really just focus on their emotional journeys first and foremost. That is the basis for all the drama: Who are our people? Where are their heads at? What do they need? Those are the dramatic questions that drive everything.

As for themes, we still have the ideas of free will and destiny that continue on from Season 1. But for new things, I think order versus chaos is a continual theme. And then a power vacuum. What happens in a power vacuum? I think like the overarching concept of Season 2 is "You break it, you buy it." That's what happened at the end of Season 1. They broke the system. And so now they own this nebulous thing, and it needs to reform and become something new.

How do you see Loki evolving as a character through the first season and into the second?

Season 1, and like Episode 1 especially, scrambled his brains. He sees his own death by the end of that. He realizes that even the infinity stones are pointless at this new level of things. And so he had to completely reset and figure out who he was. And so I think Season 1 we see him make this hero turn although he is still an antihero or villain. But I think Loki had kind of forgotten who he was, and Season 2 is like rebalancing that. So we still have this hero Loki, but we're getting back to the meat and potatoes of who this guy is. We're getting back to the God of Mischief. So we see him using all those talents of the God of Mischief but as a hero now.

ELIZABETH WEINBERG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

MARVEL/DISNEY+

"I think order versus chaos is a continual theme," said Eric Martin, top, the head writer on "Loki." The second season of the series includes, above from left, Ke Huy Quan, Wunmi Mosaku, Tom Hiddleston and Owen Wilson.

All these characters are so intertwined across multiple different movies and TV shows in the MCU. So, I'm curious, how much creative freedom do you have in writing for this particular show?

We're fortunate that we really have our own little sandbox here where we're able to be really creative and branch off into other directions without stepping on other projects. And some of that's by design, while some of that is just what we found along the way. In terms of actual marching orders, there have been certain points where it's like, "Oh, you know what, this character is being used by another project," and you just have to pivot. But in terms of our drama and our story and where we're taking our characters, it really is just following them and their needs and proving them on the page. And if we can prove that then nobody steps in and says you need to do something different.

The interactions between Loki and Mobius and between Loki and Sylvie were captivating in Season 1. What should we expect from those interactions in Season 2?

Let me start with Loki and Mobius. They're a lot of fun to write because they're an odd couple. They are very different in how they do everything. They are on the same side. They're on the same page, but they're reading different books. They do not have the same path to getting the same thing done, and that's what's fun. You have that friction to play with, but they are on the same side. So scene to scene, there's so much fun to have with them.

And with Loki and Sylvie, they're a little bit of friends, couple, I'm not sure how you even want to look at them. These are two people that have had this intense experience together, and they split apart and went separate ways. Inevitably they're going to come together, but how have they each changed? Where have they each gone? And are they going to be able to mesh again?

So O.B. is definitely an important character in Season 2. What was it like to create this character?

O.B. was born out of a desire to see the rest of the T.V.A. I feel like Season 1 we existed on a couple different levels, but this is a massive place. Like, what else is there? Who else is there? And as I was getting into the first episode of Season 2, I really started to think about who's the person who is down there in the engine room of the ship. He's the one who is looking over everything. He's the fix-it guy. I just started to imagine a guy who was so busy running the machinery that he just doesn't see anybody. But he loves his job. It very much is like the seven dwarfs and Snow White. They're just whistling while they work because they love it.

And so Loki and Mobius show up there, and they're like the first visitors O.B. has had in years. O.B. is just happily doing his job. It really crystallized in my head who that person was — somebody who loved his job. That conception of the character stuck and stayed. And when Ke came on, he just added a layer of sweet humanity to it that I thought brought a whole different level to what O.B. is.

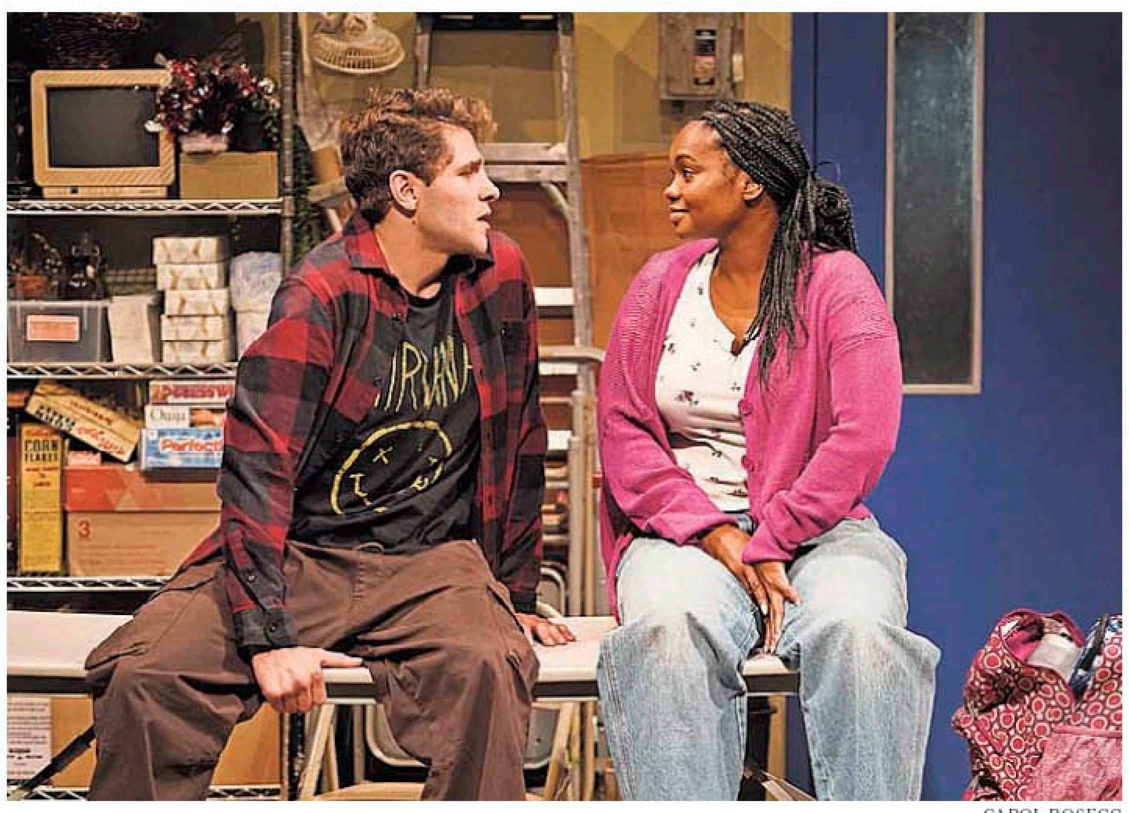
How was Ke brought on for this role?

That was Kevin Feige. He saw him in "Everything Everywhere All at Once" and Kevin fell in love with O.B. on the page, and I think he just saw him and then he's like, "This is our O.B. He'll just step right in and be perfect for this." The first day Ke came, he hadn't started yet. He just wanted to visit the set and say hi. That's who Ke is, he wants to know everybody. And we got to talking and had lunch together and it was just this nice lunch talking about his character and getting to hear him dig in and get under the skin of that character and how he was going to approach it. And all just over some cold Chinese noodles.

NAVEEN KUMAR | THEATER REVIEW

When a Good Girl Falls for a Bad Boy, It's Complicated

The playwright Eliana Pipes explores the roles race, class and gender play when an overachiever is drawn to a slacker.



CAROL ROSEGG

David Garelik and Malika Samuel in their shared supply closet in "Bite Me."

Bite Me

Through Oct. 22 at WP Theater in Manhattan; wptheater.org. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

GOOD GIRLS FALLING FOR BAD BOYS is a cornerstone of high school dramas. Usually the story goes something like this: She sticks to the rules while he breaks them, and their meeting inspires a mutual coming-of-age.

In "Bite Me," by the playwright Eliana Pipes, the reasons a studious girl can't afford to slip up while her crush has the privilege to slack off hum beneath their budding friendship like the drone of a fluorescent bulb.

The pair share custody of a neglected supply closet (the set is by Chika Shimizu), where Melody retreats to hide her tears from the queen bees and Nathan stores the petty contraband he swipes for fun, not because he needs money. As Nathan (David Garelik) makes clear, he has plenty of cash to pay for the homework he buys from Melody (Malika Samuel), a top student and an obvious outsider, who rides the bus for an hour each way to their suburban school from an unnamed city.

This 90-minute two-person play, a co-production with Colt Coeur that recently opened at the WP Theater, is set in 2004 (as illustrated by Sarita Fellows's fresh-from-the-mall costumes and Tosin Olufolabi's alt-pop playlist). The fact that Melody is Black and Nathan is white does not immediately seem to influence their interactions as obviously as the conventional gender roles that have long governed the social and sexual politics of American teenagers: that every girl ought to be pretty and sweet, and guys should act tough and unfazed.

Melody and Nathan each appear intent on conforming to such expectations, and under the direction of Rebecca Martínez, the actors play convincing iterations of recognizable types (the minority overachiever primed to act out; the self-destructive slacker with a heart). But Pipes is also interested in how race, class and gender can play a role in determining who needs to hustle for the opportunities that others freely squander. (This is a theme in her work: Her play "Dream Hou$e," produced by multiple regional theaters last year, is a surreal critique of gentrification.)

The full extent of Melody's isolation doesn't become clear until their 10-year reunion, more than three-quarters through the play, when the revelation lends electricity only in retrospect to what otherwise seems, as the title "Bite Me" might suggest, like a trope-heavy, ill-fated infatuation.

The fantasy of returning to the scene of one's adolescent torment as a hot and successful adult is well trodden, and Pipes's use of it here is a bit too pat. Still, sometimes ridding closets of their ghosts is the only way to move forward.

Their 'Savior' Was an Untrained Teenager

An impulse to help Ugandan children led to the deaths of many. A film asks questions.

By CHRISTOPHER KUO

PHOTOGRAPHS VIA HBO

Renee Bach was 19 when she felt God calling her to move to Uganda, where in 2009 she founded a Christian mission to serve hungry children. Home-schooled in a Baptist family, she had always been taught that when God calls, you follow.

But by 2015, after more than 100 Ugandan children had died there under her care, a chorus of other calls had begun to sound amid a swirl of questions about why and who was responsible — calls for answers, calls for justice.

Those questions are a central focus of the three-part HBO documentary series "Savior Complex," directed by Jackie Jesko, which premiered last month. As related in the series, Bach, who moved to Uganda from Virginia with a high school diploma and zero medical training, originally set up the nonprofit charity Serving His Children as a feeding program providing simple meals to malnourished children.

The problems started when the charity began taking in severely ill children who could not find care at overcrowded hospitals, evolving ultimately into an unlicensed medical clinic with its own intensive care unit.

Renee Bach, top, with photographs of children at the malnutrition clinic in Uganda, above, that she set up when she was 19. The new HBO documentary "Savior Complex" explores her experience there as part of a broader look at the pitfalls of missionary work.

From 2010 to 2015, more than 900 severely malnourished children passed through Bach's clinic, some receiving medical treatment Bach was not qualified to provide or oversee, according to reports. As news of the child deaths and Bach's alleged practices trickled out, Ugandan activists, volunteers and lawyers began scrutinizing the operation and demanding redress and retribution. She was forced to return to the United States. (Bach disputes that she and the clinic are responsible for the children's deaths.)

Part of what drew Jesko to Bach's story, she said, was the opportunity to investigate what she called Bach's "savior complex" — an attitude often described as "white saviorism," the paternalistic belief, rooted in centuries of colonial history, that people of color are unable to help themselves.

"Renee and I grew up in the same generation," Jesko said. "We were all exposed to that especially in movies. It's just a pervasive thing in American culture that needs to be challenged."

Drawing on interviews with Bach and an array of critics and allies — including nurses, doctors, former employees and the victims' families — "Savior Complex" feels at times like a courtroom hearing, with witnesses testifying to Bach's guilt or innocence and leaving the audience to play jury. As the story unfolds, the same facts are dissected and transmuted into multiple and diverging accounts of what happened. The series appears to relish the ambiguities.

"She overstepped," Abner Tagoola, head of pediatrics at Jinja Hospital, says in the documentary. "But the role of Renee as to the link to the mortality of these kids, as directly? I don't think so. Because of the vulnerability of these children, there were a lot of mortalities that were inevitable."

At the same time, documents, blog entries and archival footage obtained from inside Serving His Children are often damning; Bach appears to make diagnoses, administer tests and medications and question the opinions and decisions of the Black nurses and doctors on her staff.

What emerges is an untidy portrait of a woman who worked to save the lives of many Ugandan children but who was also so confident in her faith that she became blinded to earthly realities.

Bach has not been charged with any crimes in Uganda or the United States, but in 2019, she was sued in Ugandan civil court by Gimbo Zubeda, whose son Twalali died at the clinic, and by Kakai Annet, whose son Elijah also died after receiving treatment. Bach and her charity settled the suit in 2020, agreeing to pay about $9,500 to each of the mothers while avoiding an admission of liability.

In a video conversation last week, Jesko spoke about what drew her to Bach's story and the dangers of blindly following "the call to help." These are edited excerpts from the conversation.

What was particularly interesting to you about Bach's story?

As a director, I love stories where there's ambiguity. Those are the most interesting stories to tell. People on the internet love stories that are black and white, it's this or that. But everything has shades of gray. It's through the messiness of this story that we're able to look at the really big picture of colonialism and the legacy that's left, the way that missionaries are able to operate in Uganda and the limits of activism, medical ethics, that kind of thing. I've spent a lot of my career reporting in other countries, and as a white American, I've experienced firsthand the deference that is often given to us in some of these places.

How did you get Bach to talk to you?

She had spoken to other outlets before this. Basically I just wanted to find out her side of the story. And I think she spoke for the same reason anybody does this kind of thing in a long-form documentary. She felt her version of the truth was not being represented, and she wanted the chance to present it to the world and maybe change some people's minds.

Much of the series includes footage from Serving His Children that shows Bach caring for the children during her time in Uganda. How did you acquire that footage?

It was a challenge. But it's interesting: Basically the videographer in question is a supporter of Renee's even still. It was a delicate situation, but he felt like a lot of what he captured was more exonerating of her.

Did you go to Uganda to interview people there?

Oh yeah. We as a team went four times and we also worked really closely with the Ugandan producers Paul Kabango and Derrick Kibisi. They did a lot of stuff without us as well, but we went several times.

Did your view of Renee change at all through the process of creating this?

I think with any story you go on a journey, and obviously I've spent a lot of time thinking about everyone in this story. There's always days where you think one thing and think another, and you have to keep thinking through all these scenarios. I think what people will find unsatisfying about Renee's arc is she doesn't really come to any kind of reckoning with herself. There's a small one at the end where she doubts her faith and the call to serve. But she's almost operating outside this larger conversation about the role of missionaries in Uganda.

This series has been criticized by some people who say that Bach doesn't deserve a platform like this. What do you make of that?

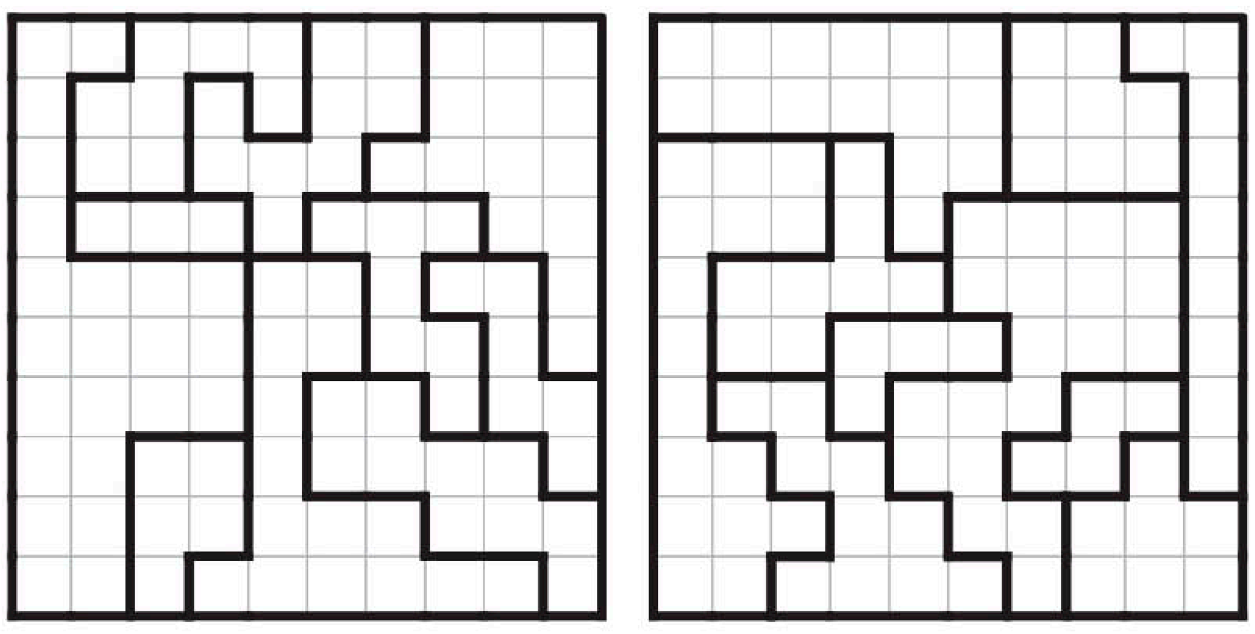
A lot of conclusions were drawn, a lot of assumptions were made. But that's the risk of taking on a very controversial story that a lot of people already on social media have strong opinions about. In the last couple of days, since the show has come out, the conversation has shifted quite a bit. People who've actually watched the series are responding and saying it was a really complex story and layered, and that the larger context makes the story worth telling.

What are you hoping people take away from this story?

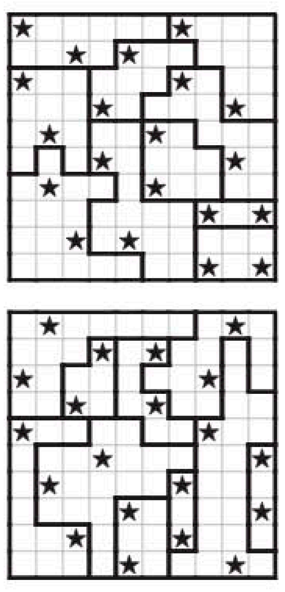
Renee is not an anomaly. The way she grew up and the way she was taught about serving overseas, that's similar to the way thousands of other young missionaries are taught. In this series, you're able to see step by step, through an individual story, how the call to help feels, how it works, what the conditioning is — and with Renee, how it transformed and escalated to the point where she is involved in medical work despite having no qualifications. And not only is she doing this stuff, she's blogging about it, and the only feedback she's getting from her audience and donors is praise. No one is questioning, Should you be doing this?

I think that reveals some interesting things about missionary work and then also the preconceived notions that a lot of Americans have about Uganda or Africa at large; they're buying this narrative that the only person who could possibly do anything to help in this situation is this untrained teenager. I hope it will provoke people to think more deeply about the intersection of money and religion when it comes to foreign aid and power imbalances. And I hope that Ugandan viewers feel that the full diversity of their perspectives was respected and amplified.

Two Not Touch



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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Brain Tickler

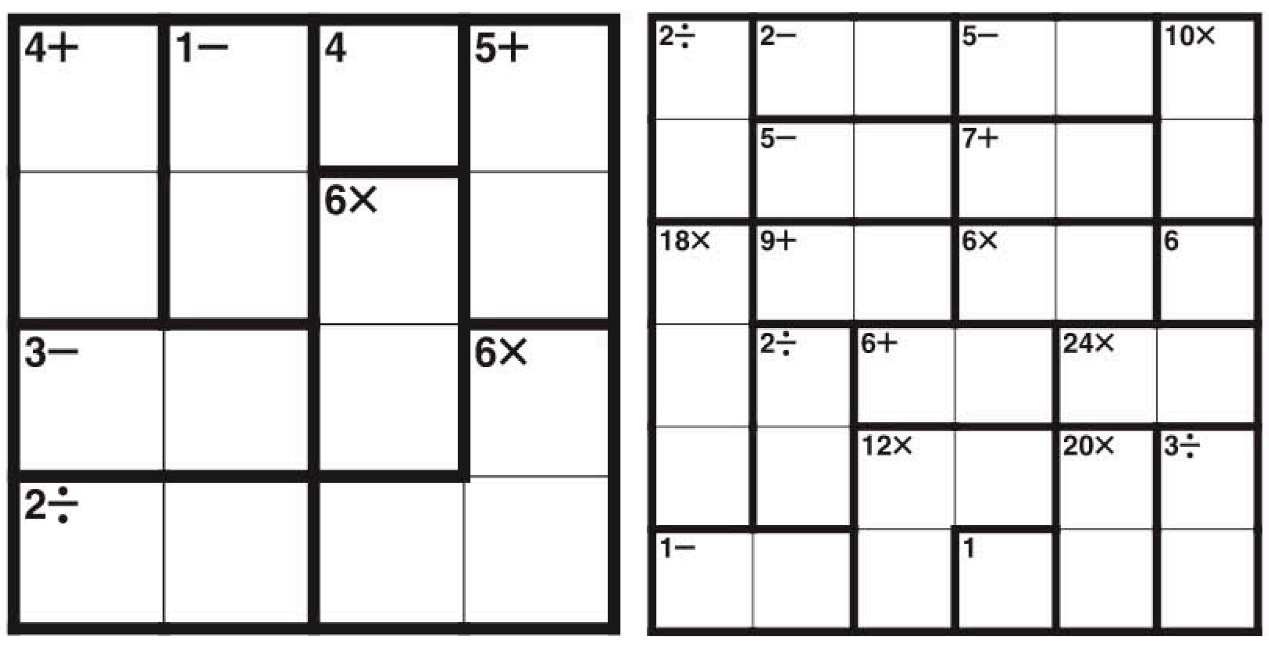
Add the letters L-O-V-E in some order in each set of dashes to complete a six-letter word.

1. _ _ _ U M _ 2. R _ _ _ _ T 3. S H _ _ _ _ 4. A _ C _ _ _ 5. _ I _ _ _ T 6. _ _ _ _ U R

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

SATURDAY'S ANSWER Ignited, editing, dieting

KenKen



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

5+ 4	1	8+ 3	5+ 2
6+ 2	4	1	3
1	7+ 3	2	9+ 4
3	2	4	1

1	4	3	6	2	5
2	5	6	4	1	3
3	2	5	1	6	4
4	1	2	5	3	6
6	3	4	2	5	1
5	6	1	3	4	2

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

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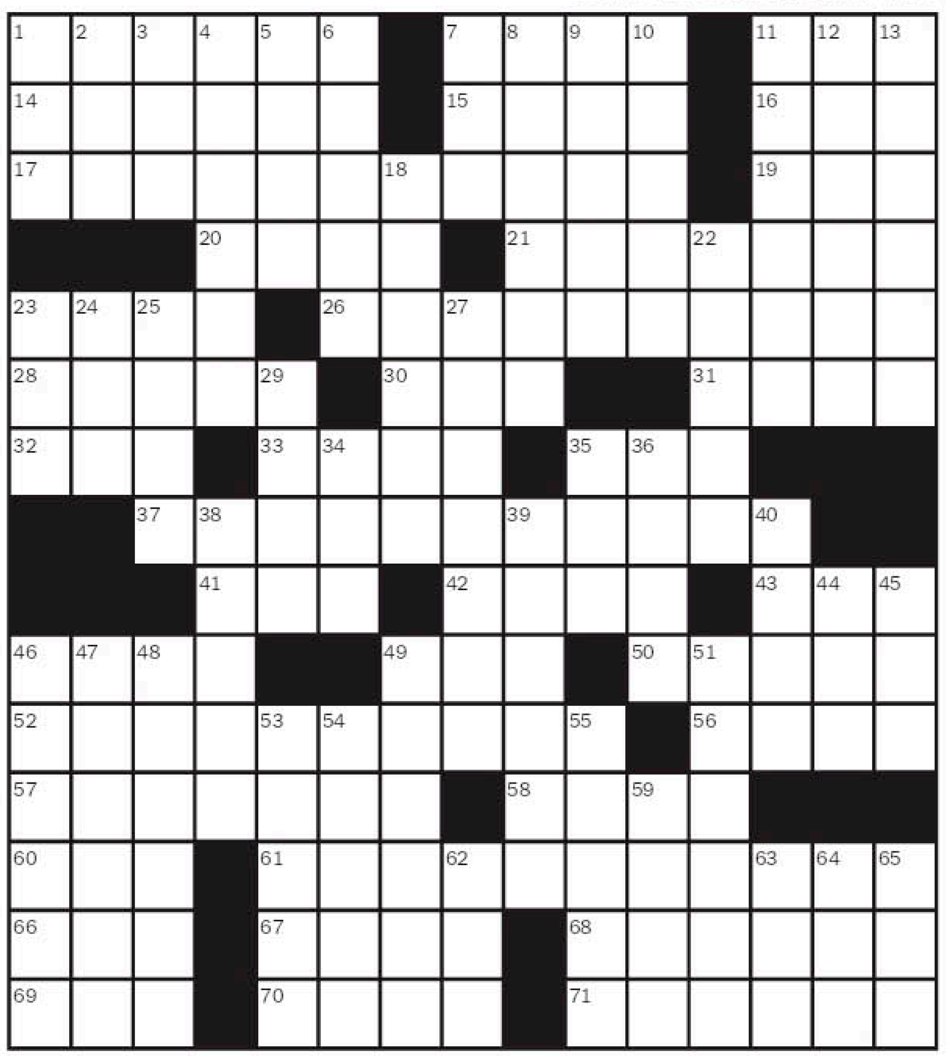
Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY ZACHARY DAVID LEVY



10/9/23

ACROSS

1 Daddy's daddy
7 Surrounded by
11 [It's f-f-freezing!]
14 Add criticism to criticism
15 K, in the NATO alphabet
16 Lucy of 2000's "Charlie's Angels"
17 Vast South American watershed
19 Tiebreaker periods, for short
20 Hint
21 Get together to relax and socialize
23 Swedish furniture giant
26 Hand bone
28 Large country house in ancient Rome
30 Touch, as on the shoulder
31 ___ of Man
32 NBC skit show since 1975, in brief
33 Coconut tree
35 "Delicious!"
37 Kitchen gadget
41 Clairvoyant's gift, for short
42 Pizazz
43 Sense of wonder
46 Zilch
49 "Facts ___ facts"
50 Slightly crooked
52 Nietzsche's superior man of the future
56 Give up
57 Document displayed in a professional's office
58 Food truck treat in a hard or soft shell
60 Wedding affirmation
61 Many a new venture in Silicon Valley ... or a hint to 17-, 26-, 37- and 52-Across
66 Moviemaking locale
67 Pennsylvania port
68 Nevertheless
69 They work with R.N.s in I.C.U.s
70 Bobcat, by another name
71 Took a load off

DOWN

1 Transcript fig.
2 Outer edge
3 In the style of
4 Agave-based liquor
5 Place for a cool dip
6 Per ___ (yearly)
7 Letters before an alias
8 Minor snafu
9 Related to a pelvic bone
10 Disco queen Summer
11 Baseball hits that barely clear the infield
12 Doing a crossword every morning, for many
13 Make noise like leaves in the wind
18 Firefly or ladybug
22 Dirty buildup
23 Hosp. hookups
24 Cousins and such
25 Jazz singer Fitzgerald
27 Interferes (with)
29 iOS downloads
34 Swiss or Italian peak
35 Vote of approval
36 Arm bone beside the radius
38 Oyster's gem
39 Puts in office
40 Tool for fall cleanup
44 Exchange vows at the altar
45 Mama sheep
46 Lifestyle that eschews clothing
47 Followed, with "by"
48 Bus stations
49 Aleve alternative
51 Sports results
53 Overnight option during a car trip
54 ___ board (need for a manicurist)
55 Contemptuous sort, in modern parlance
59 Give in under pressure
62 Wizard's curse
63 Explosive inits.
64 Put to work
65 Pea container

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

H	E	D	G	E	M	A	Z	E	■	■	I	M	P	S
A	X	E	L	F	O	L	E	Y	■	S	L	E	E	K
M	X	M	I	S	S	I	L	E	■	H	O	M	E	Y
M	O	O	D	■	Q	E	D	■	S	O	V	E	R	Y
■	N	N	E	■	U	N	A	W	A	R	E	■	■	■
E	M	E	R	G	E	S	■	O	U	T	L	I	E	R
L	O	T	S	O	■	■	N	O	C	H	A	N	C	E
O	B	I	■	B	A	D	I	D	E	A	■	T	H	A
P	I	Z	Z	A	B	O	X	■	■	I	C	H	O	R
E	L	E	A	N	O	R	■	B	A	R	R	E	L	S
■	■	■	N	A	V	Y	V	E	T	■	I	W	O	■
E	N	C	I	N	O	■	I	N	T	■	S	E	C	T
T	Y	P	E	A	■	Y	O	D	A	S	P	E	A	K
C	R	A	S	S	■	E	L	E	C	T	E	D	T	O
H	O	S	T	■	■	W	A	R	H	O	R	S	E	S

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This Week on TV

A SELECTION OF SHOWS, SPECIALS AND MOVIES. BY SHIVANI GONZALEZ

Monday

THE SILENCE OF THE LAMBS (1991) *8 p.m. on HBO*. As the leaves start changing and pumpkin-flavored items hit grocery shelves, it is clear that spooky season has arrived. And what better way to get into the spirit than with one of the most revered psychological thrillers? Clarice Starling (Jodie Foster), a top student at the F.B.I. Academy, is sent in as bait to interview Dr. Hannibal Lecter (Anthony Hopkins), in prison for murder and cannibalism. Meanwhile, another serial killer nicknamed Buffalo Bill is on the loose and has a penchant for skinning his victims.

Tuesday

BET HIP-HOP AWARDS *9 p.m. on BET and VH1.* Hosted by the Grammy-nominated artist Fat Joe, the Hip-Hop Awards, which were held on Tuesday, are being broadcast this week, with performances by DaBaby, Fivio Foreign and GloRilla, to name a few, in honor of 50 years of hip-hop. There will also be a celebration for the 30th anniversary of the record label So So Def. In terms of awards, 21 Savage and Cardi B are tied for the most nominations, with 12 each; Drake is right behind with nine.

NO ACCIDENT *9 p.m. on HBO.* In August 2017, hundreds of white nationalists rallied against the removal of a Confederate statue in Charlottesville, Va. When they marched into town and were met by counter protesters, a brawl ensued, leading to the death of one person and dozens injured. In 2021, a civil trial began to determine if the far-right organizers had plotted for violence at the rally. This documentary looks at the stories of plaintiffs and their injuries, and examines the intentions of organizers.

CAROLINE BREHMAN/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

GloRilla is one of the musical acts in the "BET Hip-Hop Awards."

GLEN WILSON/COLOMBIA PICTURES

Balancing gore with comedy: From left, Jesse Eisenberg, Emma Stone, Abigail Breslin and Woody Harrelson in "Zombieland."

KAT MARCINOWSKI/STARZ!

Greg Kinnear and Courteney Cox play a couple in "Shining Vale."

Wednesday

ZOMBIELAND (2009) *11:05 p.m. on Syfy.* As someone who can't stomach much gore but loves Jesse Eisenberg, this is the ideal movie for me. Though this movie takes place in a postapocalyptic, zombie-infested world, the story focuses instead on Columbus (Eisenberg), who teams up with Tallahassee (Woody Harrelson), Wichita (Emma Stone) and Little Rock (Abigail Breslin) as they head out West, where there are apparently no zombies. This would be a good time to note that the characters are all named after their locations when the zombie apocalypse began. There's a bit of romance, lots of funny moments, an amazing cameo and a scene at an amusement park, where Eisenberg's characters often find themselves (see "Adventureland").

Thursday

HOUSE OF VILLAINS *10 p.m. on E!* The reality villain queen herself, Omarosa Manigault Newman, below, is back on small screens this week with lots of other familiar "we love to hate them" TV personalities, including Jax Taylor from "Vanderpump Rules," Corinne Olympios from "The Bachelor" and Johnny Bananas from "The Challenge." On "House of Villains," hosted by Joel McHale, the villains will have to form alliances and compete against one another for a $200,000 prize.

Dates, details and times are subject to change.

Friday

SHINING VALE *9 p.m. on Starz.* Last season, this show started with Pat Phelps (Courteney Cox) moving with her family to a small town for a fresh start after she cheated on her husband, Terry Phelps (Greg Kinnear). Pat could immediately sense something demonic happening in her new home. The new season begins with Pat returning home after a breakdown, and there she finds out her daughter Gaynor (Gus Birney) doesn't want to spend time with her and Terry cannot remember her after a brain injury.

CREEPSHOW *10 p.m. on AMC.* Serving as a de facto continuation of the 1982 film of the same name, this anthology series is back for a fourth season. Each episode features two horror-story vignettes with all things supernatural, gruesome, terrifying and haunting.

Saturday

SATURDAY NIGHT LIVE *11:30 p.m. on NBC.* As another fall season rolls around, on Saturday night this show is going to be live from New York! Coming back for its 49th season, Studio 8H will be busy again, even amid the ongoing SAG-AFTRA strike. Pete Davidson is making his hosting debut after being a cast member on the show from 2014 to 2022. Ice Spice will be the musical guest, and on the following week's episode Bad Bunny will be the host and musical guest.

Sunday

HOTEL PORTOFINO *8 p.m. on PBS (check local listings).* The first season of this show took place after World War I, as British travelers began vacationing in Italy. The second season, which begins this week, is set in Portofino during the summer of 1927, with the Roaring Twenties in full swing and Bella Ainsworth (Natascha McElhone) making sure that the Hotel Portofino is a success.

OUSSAMA ZAHR | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

A Display of Plush Power In Riccardo Muti's Victory Lap

In a new role with his old ensemble, the maestro opened Carnegie Hall's season with might and finesse.

WHEN RICCARDO MUTI stepped down from the Chicago Symphony Orchestra last season, after 13 years as its conductor, the ensemble promptly turned around and named him music director emeritus for life.

In a two-part season opener at Carnegie Hall last week, it was easy to hear why.

Under Muti, the Chicago Symphony is all power and finesse with no unsightly edges. Last Wednesday, in Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto and Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," the orchestra's playing, strong yet nimble, drew on reserves of unforced power and charm. The next night, in an Italian-themed collection of programmatic works by Mendelssohn, Strauss and Philip Glass, a certain politesse crept into an otherwise classy performance.

There's no better illustration of the orchestra's might than the final movement of the Mussorgsky, "The Great Gate of Kyiv." Ravel's orchestration of Mussorgsky's delightful piano suite reaches its apotheosis here, and on Wednesday, Muti built a magnificent edifice out of it, with crashing cymbals, all-out brasses and majestic strings.

TODD ROSENBERG

Riccardo Muti conducting the Chicago Symphony Orchestra at Wednesday's performance for the opening of Carnegie Hall's new season.

Chicago Symphony Orchestra
Performed on Wednesday and Thursday at Carnegie Hall in Manhattan.

Using an extreme economy of gesture, he barely had to move for the players to unleash torrents of stupendous, beautifully balanced sound.

At the risk of cliché, the ensemble's remarkable cohesion feels like a kind of Midwestern humility, focusing attention on the music instead of individual players. Tasteful instrumental solos, like that of the concertmaster Robert Chen in Strauss's "Aus Italien," didn't disturb the musical fabric. Technical mastery emerged in what wasn't there: The heavenly woodwinds were airborne without being breathy, and the guest principal harp, Julia Coronelli, conveyed beauty without pluck in the Strauss and in Glass's "The Triumph of the Octagon." Muti's dynamic mapping avoided jolts or spikes; ardor and neatness coexisted.

His "Pictures at an Exhibition" balanced theatricality and unity in the vividly drawn scenarios of Ravel's orchestration. The first "Promenade," in which Mussorgsky depicts himself wandering through the art show of his dearly departed friend, the painter Viktor Hartmann, had a gracious, wide-footed gait. Timothy McAllister's satiny alto saxophone wafted like a mist through the wide stone halls of "The Old Castle." "Tuileries" traded the unseemly lilt of whining children for a singsong quality. "The Hut on Hen's Legs" lurched with delicious, brutal violence. Muti interpreted the score's attacca markings (indicating that the movements should be played without pause) as seamless transitions instead of opportunities for surprise.

The orchestra's plush power in the Tchaikovsky evoked the proverbial iron fist in a velvet glove, so it's a shame that the evening's soloist, Leonidas Kavakos, derailed the performance with curdled tone, sloppy passagework, cracked high notes and tuning issues. There were pretty turns of phrase in the second movement, and Kavakos could hide his unpolished sound in the guttural character of the third. For a performer of a normally high caliber, though, it was a shabby showing.

Glass's "The Triumph of the Octagon," dedicated to Muti, opened the second night. It's a 10-minute piece inspired by a photo of a 13th-century Italian castle that Glass saw hanging in the maestro's studio at Orchestra Hall in Chicago, a memory from Muti's childhood. The music gradually accumulated a mysterious timelessness with the shifting emphases of its time signatures and the delicate deployment of woodwind timbres.

Muti avoided any inkling of stridency in the dashing opening of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony, which rushed forward with grace and buoyancy. Melodies intertwined delicately in the Andante. The perpetual motion of the third movement felt unobstructed but also unhurried; the strings played all the way through phrases and left them hanging in the air, and the brasses were unafraid to assume a blanched color to maintain the movement's particular tint.

The elegant passion on display in the Mendelssohn hampered the players in the Strauss, his first tone poem, a piece that wraps together images of Italy with the swooning ecstasies they arouse. Still, some passages are recognizably pictorial, such as the third movement's suggestion of the shores of Sorrento, with the dappling of the sun on the surface of the sea rendered in shimmery chromaticism. There, the orchestra was quite enchanting, but in the second movement, it lacked punch. Too often, Strauss's impetuous reveries were flattened into a predictable sameness.

A truer sense of romance and spontaneity could be found in the encores on both evenings. They were drawn from Italian opera, a specialty of Muti, who was the longtime music director of Teatro alla Scala in Milan. After the adrenaline rush of "The Great Gate of Kyiv," Muti struck up the intermezzo from Giordano's "Fedora" with seductive vulnerability.

On the second night, the overture to Verdi's "Giovanna d'Arco" had everything the Strauss didn't: crackling energy and a sense of reveling — not just in the music, but also in the ensemble itself. It provided a handsome, though still subtle, showcase for the winds to take a victory lap — and for Muti to do so too.

THEATER DIRECTORY
Your daily guide to theater

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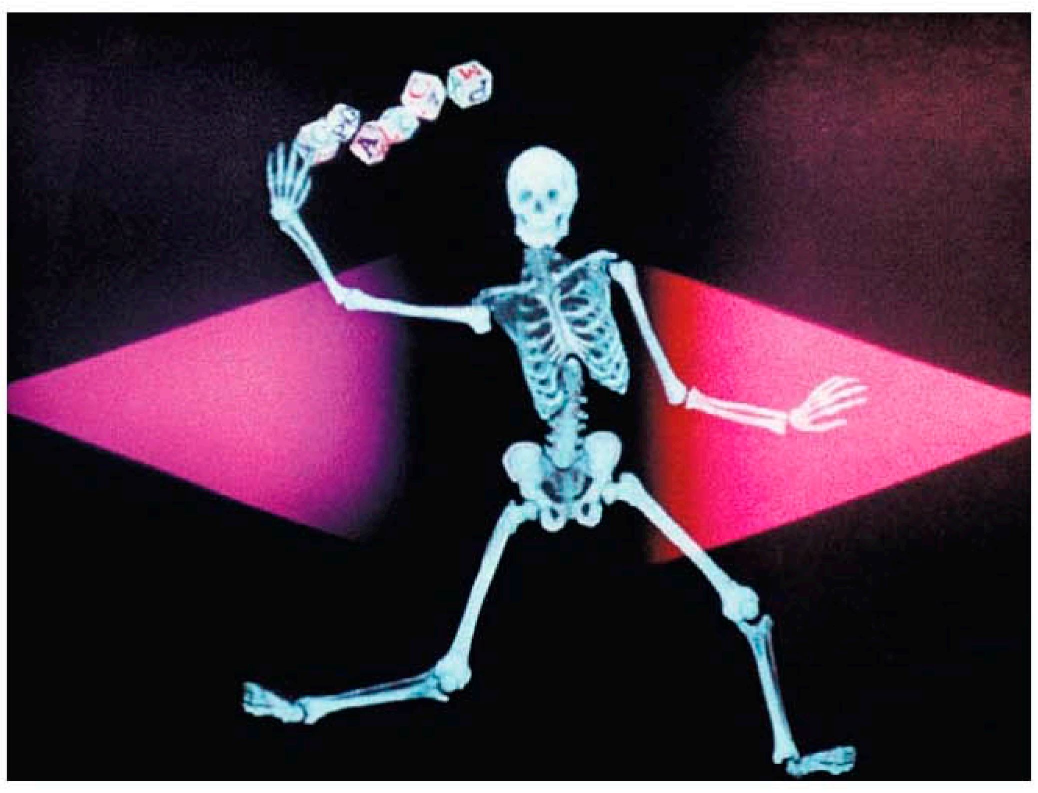
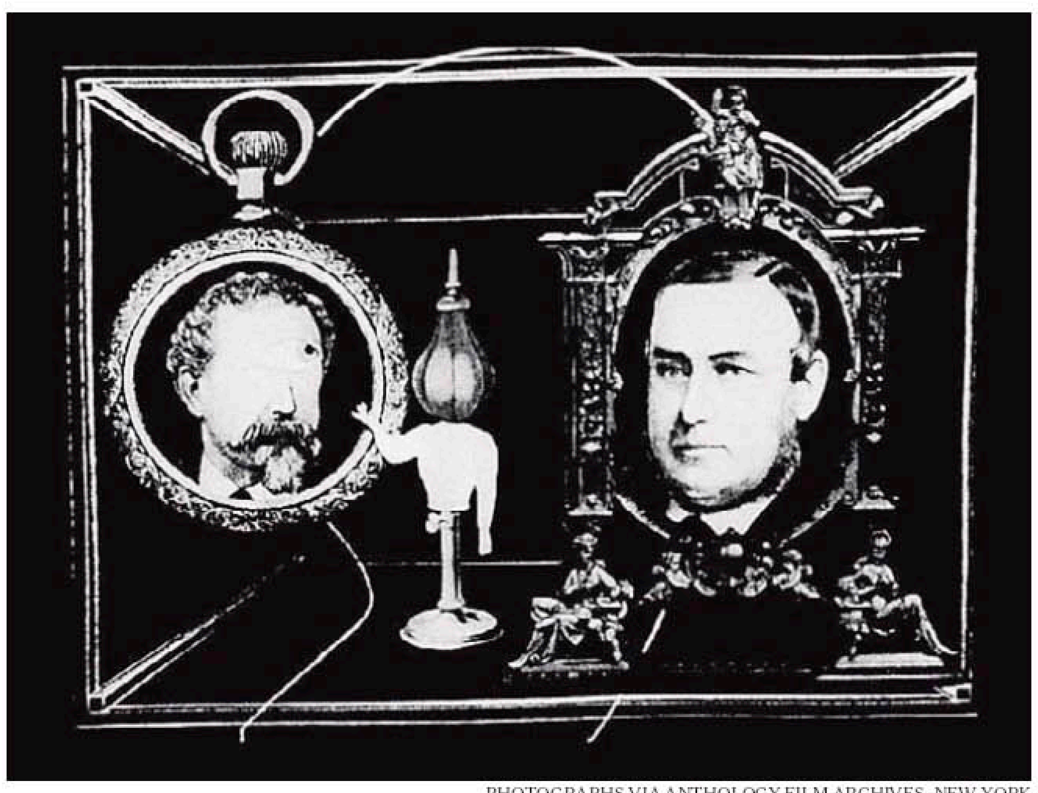
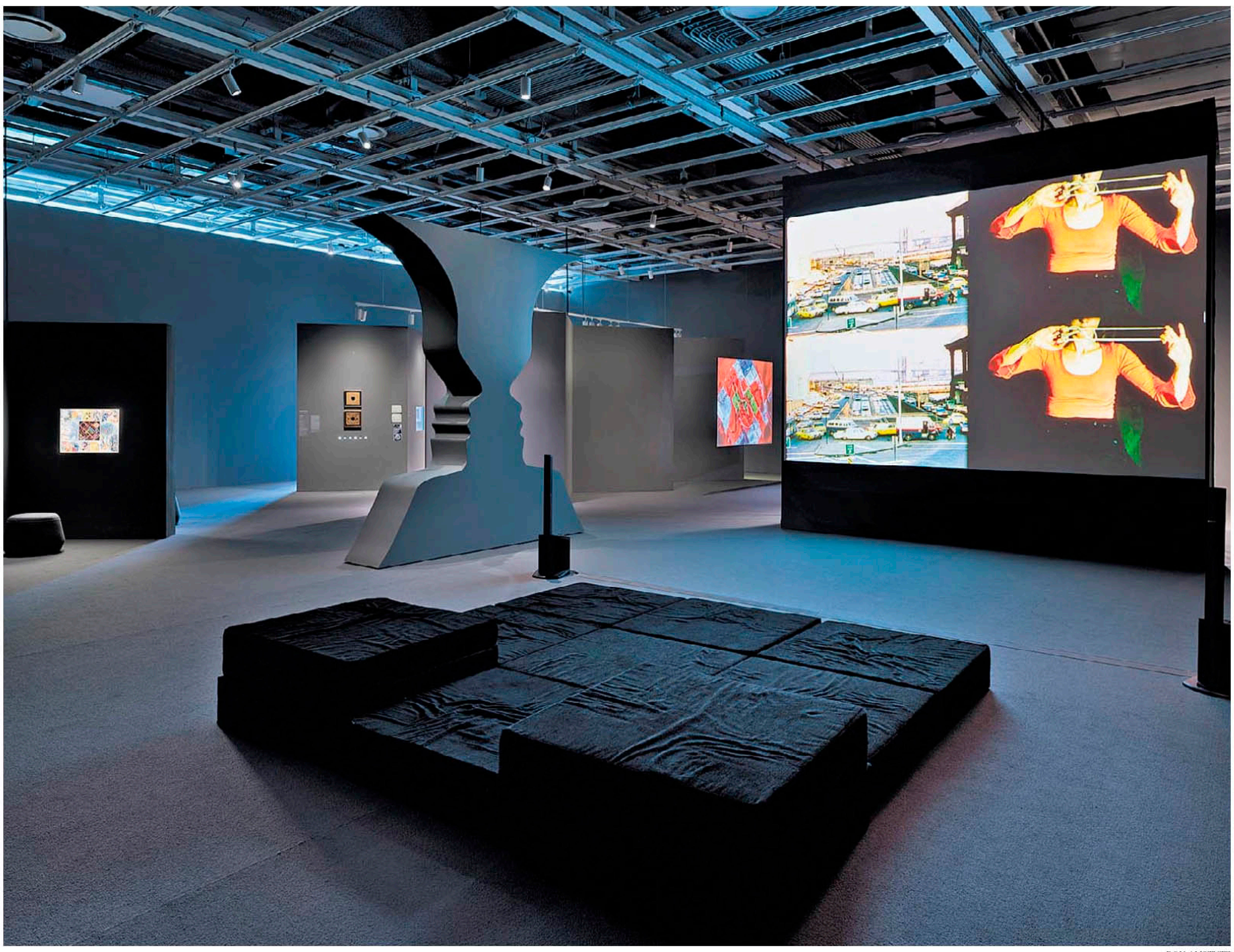
HOLLAND COTTER | ART REVIEW





PHOTOGRAPHS VIA ANTHOLOGY FILM ARCHIVES, NEW YORK

Showcasing a Culture-Altering Shaman



RON AMSTUTZ

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

known objects — paintings, drawings, prints, photographs — that Smith produced almost nonstop throughout his life and that he sometimes claimed to regard more highly than his films.

That life began in the Pacific Northwest. Smith was born in Portland, Ore., and grew up in Washington State. He was lucky in his family. They didn't have money: His father worked in the fish-canning industry; his mother was a teacher. But they encouraged his early interest in reading and art and folk music. And as practicing Theosophists, they made him comfortable with esoteric spiritualities and instilled in him their own pantheistic love of the natural world.

Because his mother taught school on the local Lummi Indian reservation, Smith became fascinated with Indigenous culture. By age 15, he was already a committed ethnologist, participating in Lummi dances and religious rituals, absorbing Native music, photographing objects, sacred and secular — a handful of foggy slide photographs

CRITIC'S PICK **Fragments of a Faith Forgotten: The Art of Harry Smith**
Through Jan. 28 at the Whitney Museum of American Art in Manhattan; 212-570-3600, whitney.org.

of masks, drums and weavings are the show's earliest entries — while taking copious field notes on everything.

And a unitary concept of "Everything" was already the axis around which his worldview turned. He was intensely focused — a classic geek — but the focus was panoramic and panoptic, taking in many seemingly unalike things — dance, color, language — at once, all of which he perceived as interrelated. He would speak of illuminating such connection as the primary value of his work, the one he cared most about.

In 1945, he moved to San Francisco with the intention of studying anthropology at the University of California in Berkeley. But classroom learning wasn't his thing. (He attended some lectures but never registered.) He spent most of his time doing what amounted to field research in the city's burgeoning Beat poetry cafes and in jazz clubs where Dizzy Gillespie and Charlie Parker regularly played.

He lived in a minute apartment in the Fillmore neighborhood, then predominantly African American, and indulged what would be two insatiable lifelong appetites: one, for mood-altering substances (alcohol and a rainbow of perception-changing drugs), and the other for the bulk collecting of objects — books, music recordings, artworks, antique tools, tarot cards, textiles, toys, used bandages found at tattoo shops, and a Himalaya of newspaper and magazine clippings.

In San Francisco he was doing a lot of painting: smoothly geometric Kandinsky-ish, mandalalike compositions, as well as looser, brushier work in which the individual strokes were synced to the notes and chords in jazz recordings. And he used this gestural mode to create his first animated abstractions, painted directly on film stock, which was then edited and projected.

The earliest surviving example of this "action painting," "Film No. 1: A Strange Dream" (circa 1946-48), is in the show — it's an eyepopper — as are a few more abstractions from the San Francisco years. They're tip-of-the-iceberg evidence of the riches Smith was producing at the time. But they also hint at what's been lost.

Chronically indigent and often high, Smith was careless with his art and collections. When he couldn't pay rent he'd be out on the street, his possessions with him, up for grabs. He'd sometimes destroy things in a rage. So, materially speaking, there's now relatively little output to see. Three beautiful "jazz paintings" in the show exist only as lightbox transparencies made from slides of originals lost who knows when. As a result, a show of big ideas — organized by Dan Byers of the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts at Harvard; Rani Singh, director of the Harry Smith Archives; and Elisabeth Sussman, Kelly Long and McClain Groff of the Whitney — feels small.

Smith was blessed with protective friends — the poet Allen Ginsberg and the filmmaker Jonas Mekas were two — and sporadically with supportive patrons, including, briefly, Hilla Rebay, the first director of the Museum of Non-Objective Painting (the forerunner of the Guggenheim Museum).

On a visit to San Francisco in 1948 she saw Smith's extraordinary animated abstractions and offered him a stipend to do more. With the money he moved to New York City, settling first on the Lower East Side, and later and longer, in the Chelsea Hotel on West 23rd Street. Here he worked on some of his most ambitious projects.

In 1952, the Manhattan-based Folkway Records released his "Anthology of American Folk Music," the long-time-coming end product of Smith's childhood passion for preserving materials from sources he perceived as marginalized. And although the LP set had a low-key landing — it was niche marketed, primarily to libraries — it gained a passionate and eclectic audience that included Bob Dylan, Philip Glass and the Grateful Dead.

(The full "Anthology" set, which Smith regarded as an art object in itself — he even signed it as if it were a painting — can be sampled in a section of the show set aside as a listening station, as can the fabulously erudite and poetic commentary that Smith wrote for all 84 cuts.)

ESTATE OF JORDAN BELSON

In New York, he also created his most complex and inventive films, none of them, strictly speaking, abstract. "Film No. 11: Mirror Animations," made around 1957, adheres to the jazz painting model of aligning music and visuals. The music in this case is Thelonious Monk's "Misterioso," but the images now include Buddhist figures and Kabbalistic emblems.

For "Film No. 12: Heaven and Earth Magic Feature," also in the show, Smith supplied his own score of everyday noises: dogs barking, babies crying, wind blowing, glass breaking. He also proposed a story line — a woman with a toothache goes to a dentist, gets injected with some kind of drug and ascends to heaven — which is enacted by figures clipped from Victorian-era print sources.

The ingenious animation feels delightfully witty at first, but over the span of its hour length, makes for creepy watching. There's wild, violent stuff going on. If this is heaven, we want to stay clear. Smith had a reputation for being an occultist, but he was never a religionist. Like Joseph Cornell, he was an uninnocent mystic. However spacey his art, the world is very much in it.

It's certainly there in the magnum opus "Film No. 18: Mahagonny," (1970-80). The score is a full two-hours-plus recording of the Kurt Weill-Bertolt Brecht opera "The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny." And the visuals, projected on four square contiguous screens, are a collage of color films Smith shot in Manhattan in the 1970s: on its streets, in the Chelsea Hotel and in Central Park.

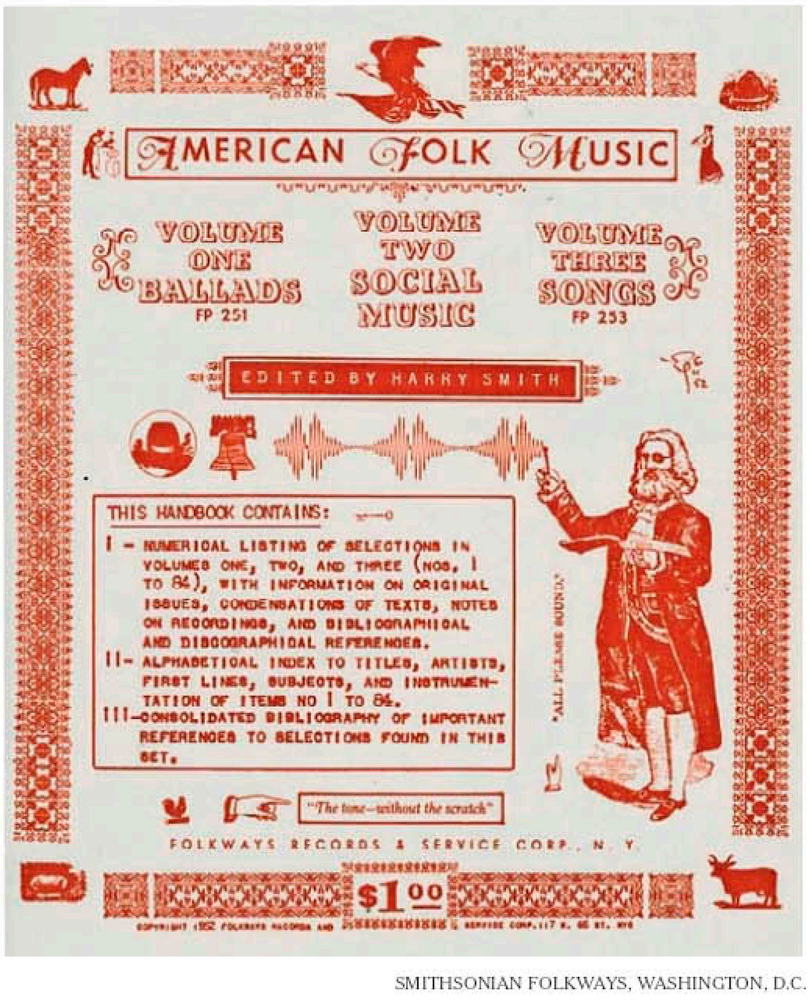
A mathematically calculated visual puzzle, it's also a record of a time and place, filtered through Smith's favored themes: outsider-insider culture, embodied in figures from the city's avant-garde (Ginsberg and Patti Smith make appearances); material accumulation (tabletop arrangements of food, liquor bottles and drugs); and some promise of transcendence, in this case through Nature (childhood: he keeps going back there).

In the 1970s, New York was in trouble, and so was Smith. Years of alcohol and drug intake were catching up. "A stoned, drunken, hunched-over demonically creative gnome" is how his New York psychiatrist described him. Penniless and in failing health, he was crashing with friends who passed him on to other friends. At one point he ended up in a Bowery flophouse. (This phase of his life — indeed his entire life — is empathetically chronicled in John Szwed's indispensable new biography, "Cosmic Scholar: The Life and Times of Harry Smith.")

But he never stopped working, which meant collecting: He carried a tape recorder, always turned on. And there were late upbeat moments. In 1988 he was invited to teach at Naropa Institute (now Naropa University) in Boulder, Colo., a Buddhist-inspired college, where he was treasured and cosseted.

In 1991, he was awarded a special Grammy for the "Anthology" and flew to New York, five kittens in tow, to accept it. He wore a rented tuxedo. No one would have guessed that by this point he was surviving on instant mashed potatoes, NyQuil and cigarettes and would soon be lost in hallucinations of who he would meet in the afterlife. He died, at the Chelsea Hotel, that year, "unique, devious, saintly," as Ginsberg eulogized, and far-out right to the end.

Top, from left: stills from "Film No. 11: Mirror Animations"; "Film No. 1: A Strange Dream"; "Film No. 12: Heaven and Earth Magic Feature." Below those, an installation view of "Fragments of a Faith Forgotten: The Art of Harry Smith" at the Whitney Museum of American Art. Above, Smith's "Algo Bueno [Jazz Painting]." Below, from left, a booklet for "Anthology of American Folk Music"; Smith, left, at a Lummi Indian ceremony around 1942.



SMITHSONIAN FOLKWAYS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, LOS ANGELES

AMANDA HESS | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

Midair Meltdowns Have Us Hooked

GEORGE WYLESOL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

viral comedies of manners. In recent months, I've watched a woman extend both of her arms to block the seat in front of her from reclining. I read about a guy who grounded a plane because he didn't get his first-choice meal. I saw a man lose it over a screaming baby — and scream back.

There's something about the airplane that makes even a minor dispute feel like a big deal. Tabloids regularly repackage anonymous Reddit threads about the quirks of seat switching, seat reclining, seat back grabbing, service animals or the choreography of deplaning. The New York Post will scrape a dispute directly from Reddit and give it a headline in the style of a personal essay, like: "I left my wife behind at the airport and I'm not sorry — she needs to learn time management." (And I'll read it!) McLellan's video has been squeezed through dozens of online news sites, fueling stories on the "deadbeat dad" who ducked his duties midair, the "TikTok mom" who exposed him and the debate it raised over the division of labor between mothers and fathers.

Dramatic footage of in-flight meltdowns can create tabloid fixtures, but the offending fliers are often unidentifiable. They appear as cursed images: a curtain of hair grazing the tray table behind it; a wandering hand snaking through a seat crack to lift someone else's window shade; a naked foot propped on an armrest. An in-flight incident once required the involvement of Alec Baldwin to make a splash. Now the plane itself is the star.

No matter how often you fly, the social geography of the airplane feels anxiously familiar. In a plane, distinctions of class and status are made explicit. And in economy, every row presents another hierarchy, with more fortunate passengers filling the window and aisle seats and suckers squeezed in the middle. Airlines are squeezing us, too, pinching legroom and inventing new cabin strata even as delays rise.

Many viral plane scenarios involve litigating the circumstances under which passengers ought to relinquish their seats to accommodate separated families, a debate that has been supercharged by new seat selection fees. Once airlines have emptied our pockets, it is easy to assure ourselves that we don't owe each other anything.

Many in-flight squabbles are proxy battles for current social issues.

Some say that since 2020, people have forgotten how to act in public, but I think these stories point to deeper issues. A few years ago, viral plane videos often featured masks and the people who refused to wear them. They ranted and flailed as police officers and crew members peeled them from their seats. These videos dramatized a broader tension between personal entitlement and the common good.

The mask mandate has lifted, but the question lingers: Do we live in a society, or a marketplace? Many in-flight squabbles are proxy battles over white privilege, male entitlement and the accommodation of mothers and children. They are about our literal place in society.

As travel becomes increasingly uncomfortable, it makes sense that more and more passengers will be pushed to their breaking points. Some scream. Others post. When people are at the mercy of the airlines, they cling to the little things they feel they can control: the seat assignment, the armrest and their phones, where they can conjure a virtual lounge offering comfort and affirmation. TikTok surveillance is a passive-aggressive strategy for one-upping a seatmate. But it can be a way to reclaim some self-respect, by reaching outside the artificial hierarchy of the plane and appealing to a higher moral authority.

On a flight, everyone is competing for ever-scarcer resources, and yet their fates are connected. When a baby cries, everyone hears it. When one passenger acts out, they are all grounded. In March, the former football player and ESPN personality Desmond Howard posted a video to Twitter about his white seatmate, who accused Howard of being "sick" and asked a flight attendant to remove him from the plane. The white man, Howard said, had tried to appeal to his superior American Airlines status in order to get his way. Mid-flight, Howard pulled out his phone and recounted the story in a video he posted to Twitter. Then he turned the camera onto the man who tried to boot him. There he was, the elite traveler, stuck in his seat like everyone else.

BEATRICE LOAYZA | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

In the Hands of These Auteurs, a Movie Is More Than a Story

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

feel wrong, per se. Just insufficient. To think of, say, a full-body sensory experience like Jonathan Glazer's "The Zone of Interest" as merely a story about a Nazi family or Raven Jackson's "All Dirt Roads Taste of Salt," which consists of lush memory fragments, as merely a story about a Black woman's coming-of-age, would feel dismissive of the filmmakers' full intentions.

I can't imagine a single director in this year's beautifully eclectic lineup who would call themselves a "storyteller" with a straight face — outside of a pitch meeting with investors. One film even satirizes the connection between moviemaking and corporate brand marketing. I'm looking at you, Radu Jude ("Do Not Expect Too Much From the End of the World").

New York Film Festival
Through Sunday at various New York City locations; filmlinc.org.

That's because movies aren't just stories. Narrative can play a part, but the medium also encompasses feelings, moods, distortions of time and logic. The movies are exercises in freedom.

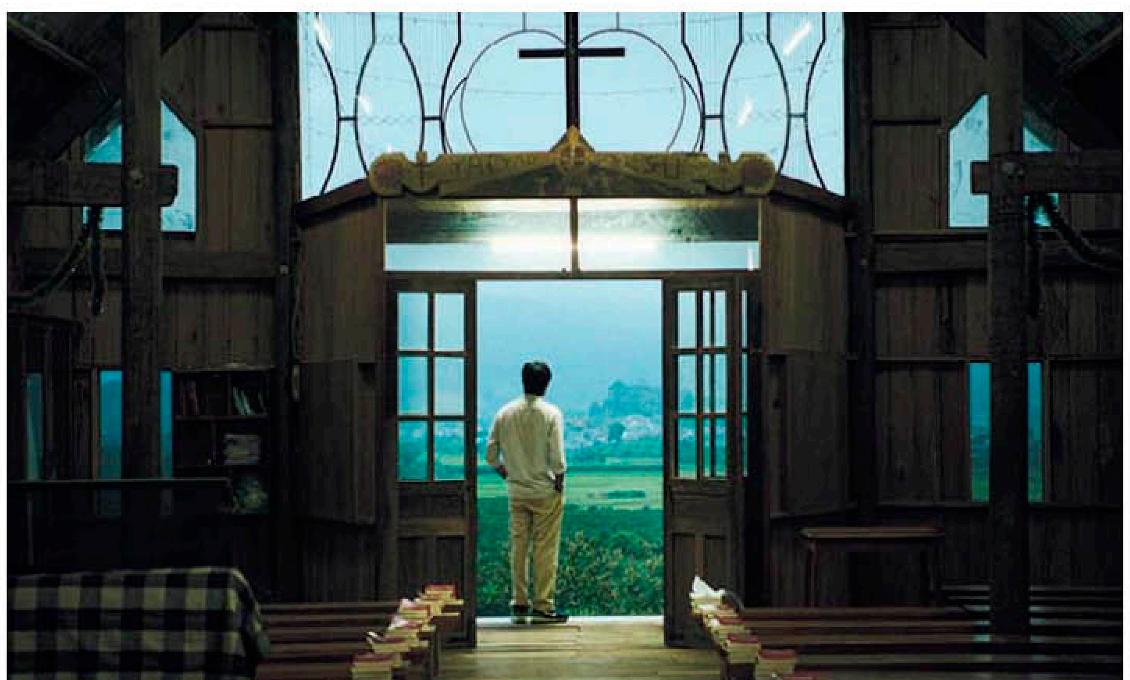
"The Taste of Things," by the French Vietnamese director Tran Anh Hung, is, at face value, a conventional Belle Époque-era romance about a gastronome (Benoît Magimel) and a cook (Juliette Binoche) who together create sumptuous multicourse meals. Over half of the film is entrenched in the raw physicality of their work, the textures of the foods they wash, boil, chop and sear into magnificent forms. The film doesn't rely much on dialogue, because the couple's passion is transmitted through a decadent display of food porn. In one scene, a voluptuous poached pear gives way to a shot of Binoche's disrobed derrière. It conveys an ineffable quality: that of loving and being loved through the act of cooking.

When I think about what makes a good story — a tale that traces out a plot and a path from A to B — the answers don't always square with the parts of movies I love best. I'm not super hot on Bradley Cooper's Leonard Bernstein biopic, "Maestro," but the scenes in which Lenny conducts are magnificent and powerful, like being thrown into the middle of a sonic storm. The rest — the tortured-genius bad-wife-guy intrigue — sometimes felt like homework. I often found myself thinking, "Let's get back to the music."

That's because the best things in life are gratuitous, like sex — kinky sex, weird sex, sex whose finer details you'd think twice before sharing. Joanna Arnow's deadpan dramedy "The Feeling That the Time for Doing Something Has Passed" relishes all of the above. The 30-something Brooklynite played by Arnow herself (in a perpetual Garfield the cat scowl) goes on dull dates and powers through a numbing office job. The focus is her sex life, specifically the submissive role she plays in a B.D.S.M. relationship with a divorced lawyer (Scott Cohen). These scenes are cringey and absurd, but there's something compelling about choosing the conditions of your own humiliation — and having some fun with it.

IFC FILMS

A24



KINO LORBER

From top: "The Taste of Things," by Tran Anh Hung; Steve McQueen's postmodern ghost story, "Occupied City"; and "Inside the Yellow Cocoon Shell," from Thien An Pham.

Steve McQueen's postmodern ghost story, "Occupied City," which clocks in at a whopping four and a half hours, forces us to rejigger and expand our understanding of how movies communicate meaning. The film takes an almost pointillist approach to the telling of history. Based on a book by McQueen's wife, Bianca Stigter (a Dutch filmmaker and historian whose research into the Holocaust also yielded one of last year's most astounding nonfiction movies, "Three Minutes: A Lengthening"), "Occupied City" consists of hundreds of mostly static shots of Amsterdam during the pandemic lockdown. With each shot, an impassive narrator (Melanie Hyams) details the corresponding crimes that took place in each location in the early 1940s, when the Nazis invaded the country.

The conceit is willfully repetitive, and its simple, matter-of-fact approach departs from the manipulations of empathy-generating narratives that tend to dominate the subject matter. Often, my mind wandered throughout the film's countless enumerations, which triggered pangs of guilt and also putting things in perspective: It's distressingly easy to forget, to lose focus, in the face of horrors whose size and scope are impossible for the brain to fully process.

Every year I try to take in a few films from the Revivals section, which features restorations of vintage titles, many of them previously inaccessible. "Un Rêve Plus Long que la Nuit" ("A Dream Longer Than the Night"), by the French American artist Niki de Saint Phalle, stood out. Years ago I had visited a de Saint Phalle exhibition where one of the most striking pieces was a door-size vaginal opening nestled between a behemoth pair of legs. Silly, beautiful, and terrifying all at once, the film is a pagan fever dream that envisions a feminist revolution through the eyes of a girl, and its best qualities are in the details: the sheer diversity of papier-mache penises is astounding.

Also in Revivals is a program of shorts by Man Ray, best known for his photographs but whose films — dizzying experiments with light and movement — turn familiar objects into alien entities. For Man Ray, conventional photography was about capturing reality, meaning his work would manifest images only possible in fantasies and dreams. Now, in the vertiginous age of the internet, with increasingly sophisticated film technologies at artists' disposal, it's worth considering films with similar ambitions: those that make legible the unreal. In "The Human Surge 3," the director Eduardo Williams uses a 360-degree camera to capture the roamings of a multicultural group of friends, each from a different part of the world: Peru, Taiwan and Sri Lanka. Using uncanny, stretched-out images that resemble those on Google Earth, Williams's remarkable vision of digital interconnectivity collapses borders and language barriers in wondrous, psychedelic fashion.

For more brain-breaking adventures, I recommend scouring the shorts and mid-length programs. Preceding Deborah Stratman's "Last Things," an eerie, science-fictional take on evolution (from the perspective of rocks!), is a gem: "Laberint Sequences," by the visual artist Blake Williams, the only 3-D film in the lineup. This 20-minute short is thrillingly destabilizing, and its considered yet adventurous use of 3-D makes Hollywood's innovations look juvenile by comparison. Also of note for their beautifully baffling subversions of the cinematic status quo: Ross Meckfessel's modernist horror jaunt "Spark From a Falling Star," and Onyeka Igwe and Huw Lemmey's "Ungentle," in which a disembodied narrator (Ben Whishaw) ruefully remembers his past — part gay awakening, part spy thriller — over banal shots of contemporary England.

A descendant of Apichatpong Weerasethakul's ethereal excursions, Thien An Pham's transportive feature "Inside the Yellow Cocoon Shell" tracks a man's journey through rural Vietnam after the sudden death of his sister. You could say the film is about faith, the anxiety of fatherhood or the existential unease of mortality itself, but plot is beside the point.

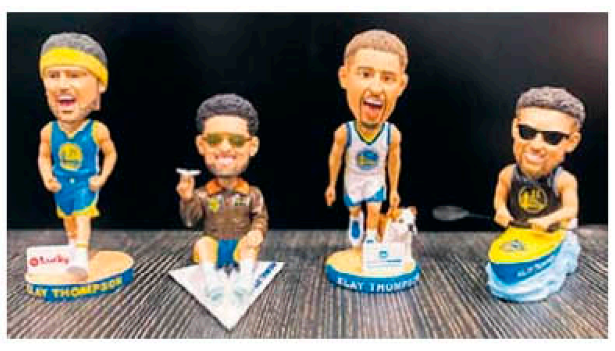
What matters is the riveting sensuality, the way the images ensorcell you, vesting quivering landscapes with an almost divine power. It's the kind of film that makes our culture's devotion to movies click: It's not about watching stories, but inhabiting worlds they have not told us of.

2 RUNNING

Kelvin Kiptum sets a world marathon record in Chicago.

2 BASEBALL

Clayton Kershaw's health is OK, but his pitching wasn't.



8 PRO BASKETBALL

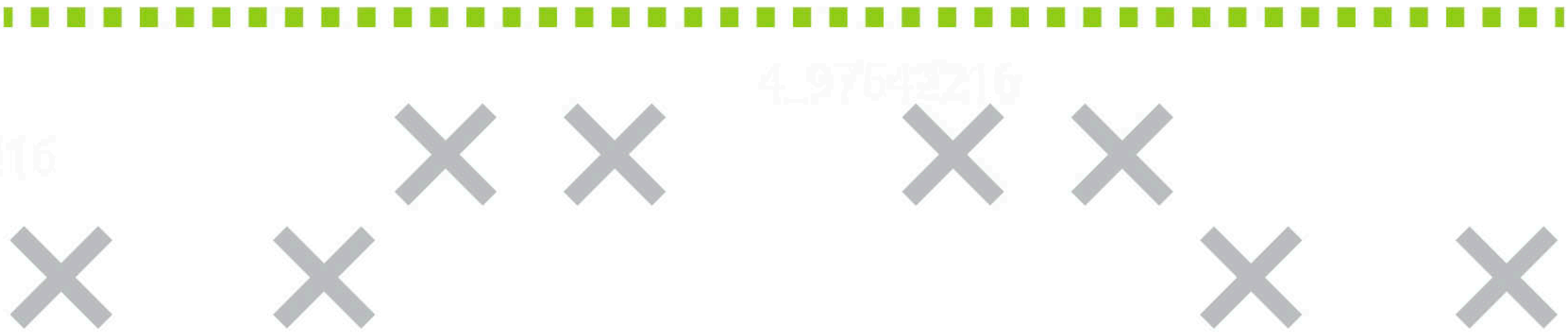
Klay Thompson just keeps on inspiring the marketing team of the Warriors.

Sports
The New York Times

FOOTBALL

Steve Young,

Girls' Flag Football,



And Finding the Next Calling

By DAN POMPEI
The Athletic

ATHERTON, Calif. — This is Laila Young's first flag football game, but she looks as though she played in a previous life. Her sister, Summer, a senior, is also a natural, covering big chunks of turf with long strides.

Laila plays the X position for Menlo School. "I tell her she's John Taylor, the most underappreciated athlete in history," her father says. Summer is the Z. "Jerry Rice's position," he says.

Laila runs a good route, but she has to come back for an underthrown pass. The ball hits her hands and falls to the ground. It could have been a touchdown. Instead, Menlo loses, 2-0, on a safety.

"I don't know if I've ever seen a more forlorn group of people," Laila's father says.

Fathers are often looked at to provide perspective, which is the case now. And Laila's father is much more than Dad. He is an assistant for Menlo, but also a two-time N.F.L. most valuable player, a Super Bowl M.V.P. and a first-ballot Hall of Famer.

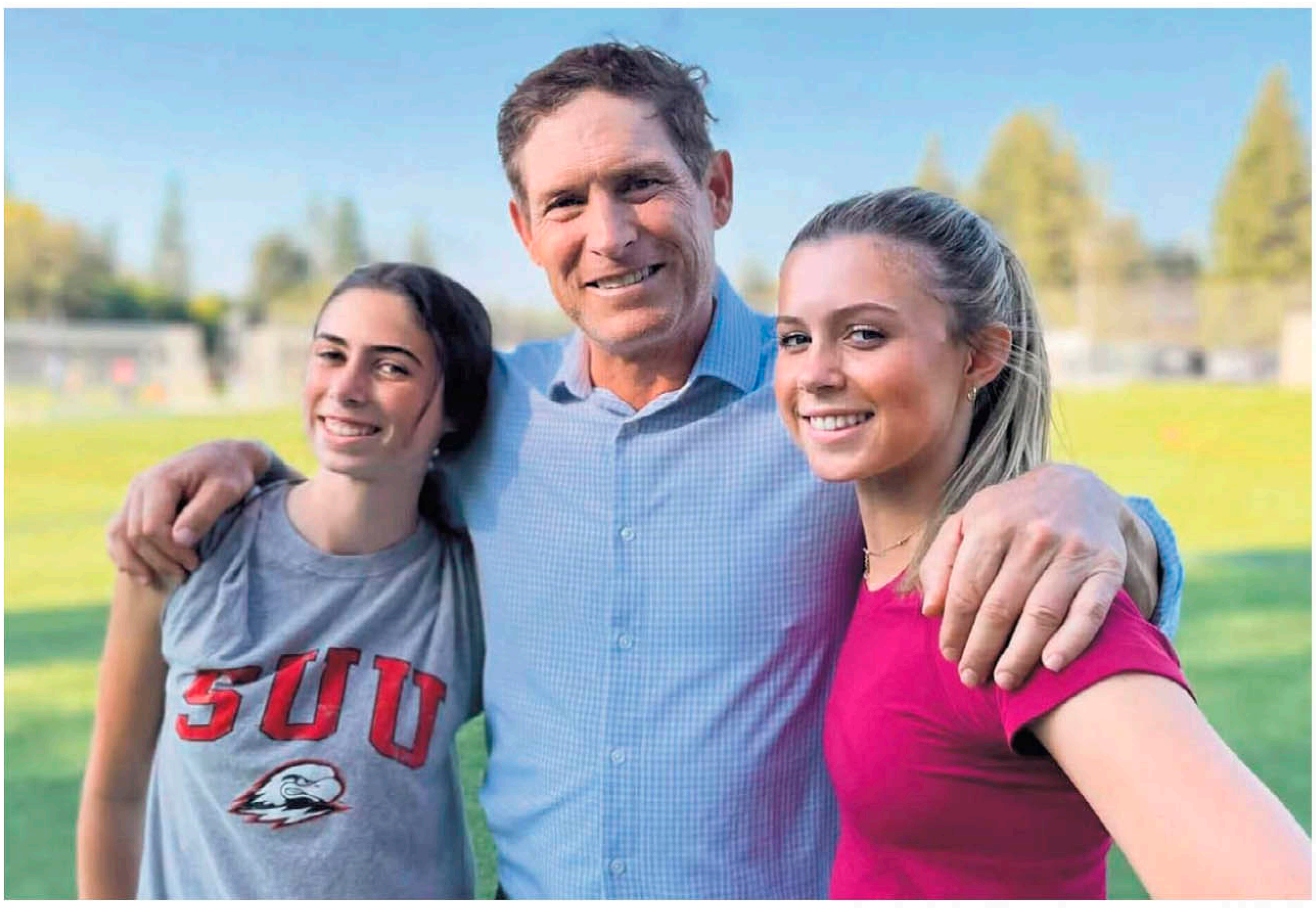
So the father puts his arm around the daughter and tells a story, the kind he usually would not tell his children without prompting.

"It was 1991, and we were in the L.A. Coliseum playing the Raiders," Steve Young begins.

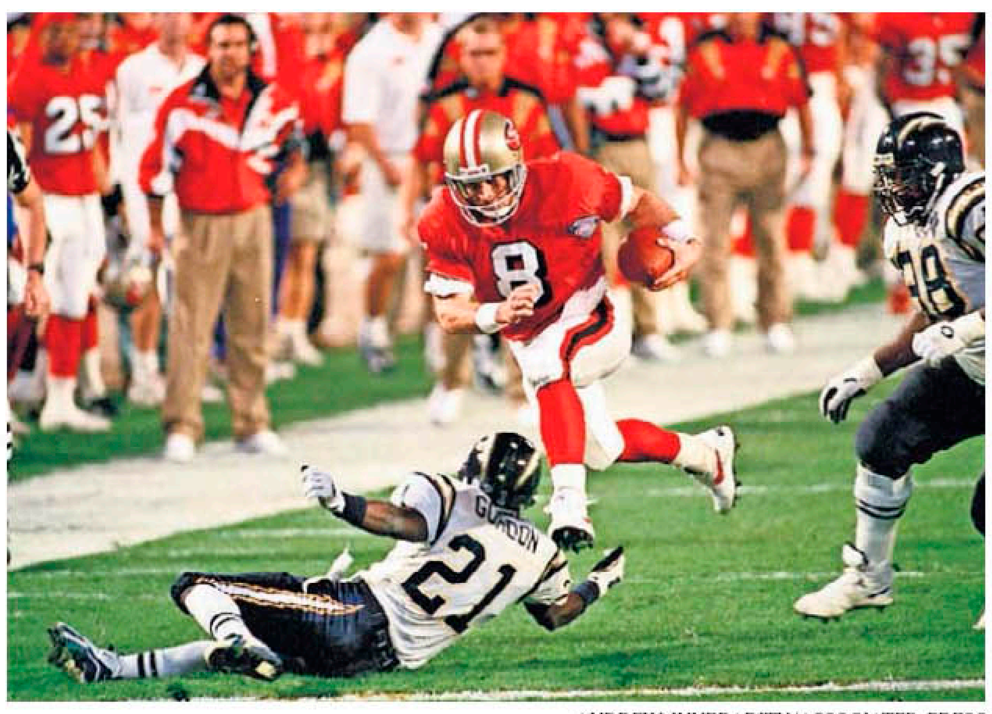
The 49ers were 14-2 in each of the previous two seasons. Joe Montana, their quarterback, was mythical in 49ers lore by then. But in the 1991 preseason, Montana, the reigning M.V.P., injured his elbow, forcing Young into the lineup. Then they began the season 2-2.

"The 49ers needed to win this game," Young continued, "but I needed to win this game — me. We trailed, 12-6, and we were driving to win. Time was running out. It was fourth-and-7 on the Raider 19. I was running around trying to find somebody to throw the football to and Jerry was open in the end zone, almost like waving his arms. But I didn't see him until I watched the tape the next day. I threw an incompletion. We lost."

Dan Pompei covers the N.F.L. for The Athletic.



TOP: JOHN G. MABANGLO/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES; ABOVE: DAN POMPEI/THE ATHLETIC



ANDREW INNERARITY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

TONY AVELAR/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Steve Young, who had a Hall of Fame career with the 49ers and then became a television analyst, is now a volunteer coach with Menlo School in Atherton, Calif., where he helps his daughters Laila, top left, and Summer learn the game.

Teaching football and life lessons while learning a new joy.

It was, Young remembers, one of the most bitter feelings of his life.

"The regret you are feeling, Laila, is the same kind of regret I was feeling at the Coliseum," he tells his daughter. "Part of the reason you go out there is to learn from that, to find a way to make it a positive. There is great potential in not catching that pass. You have to find it."

After the loss to the Raiders, 49ers defensive end Charles Haley raged at Young in the locker room. He put his fist through a glass door and would not calm down until the former 49er Ronnie Lott, who had joined the Raiders as a free agent, was summoned to mollify him. Haley, who was loyal to Montana, had bullied Young for years by then.

In 1987, Young agreed to be traded to the 49ers from the Tampa Bay Buccaneers with the idea — promoted by 49ers Coach Bill Walsh — that Montana might not play again because of back problems. But Montana's back was strong enough to carry a team on it, and he did so in the 1988 and 1989 seasons, leading the 49ers to his third and fourth Super Bowl victories.

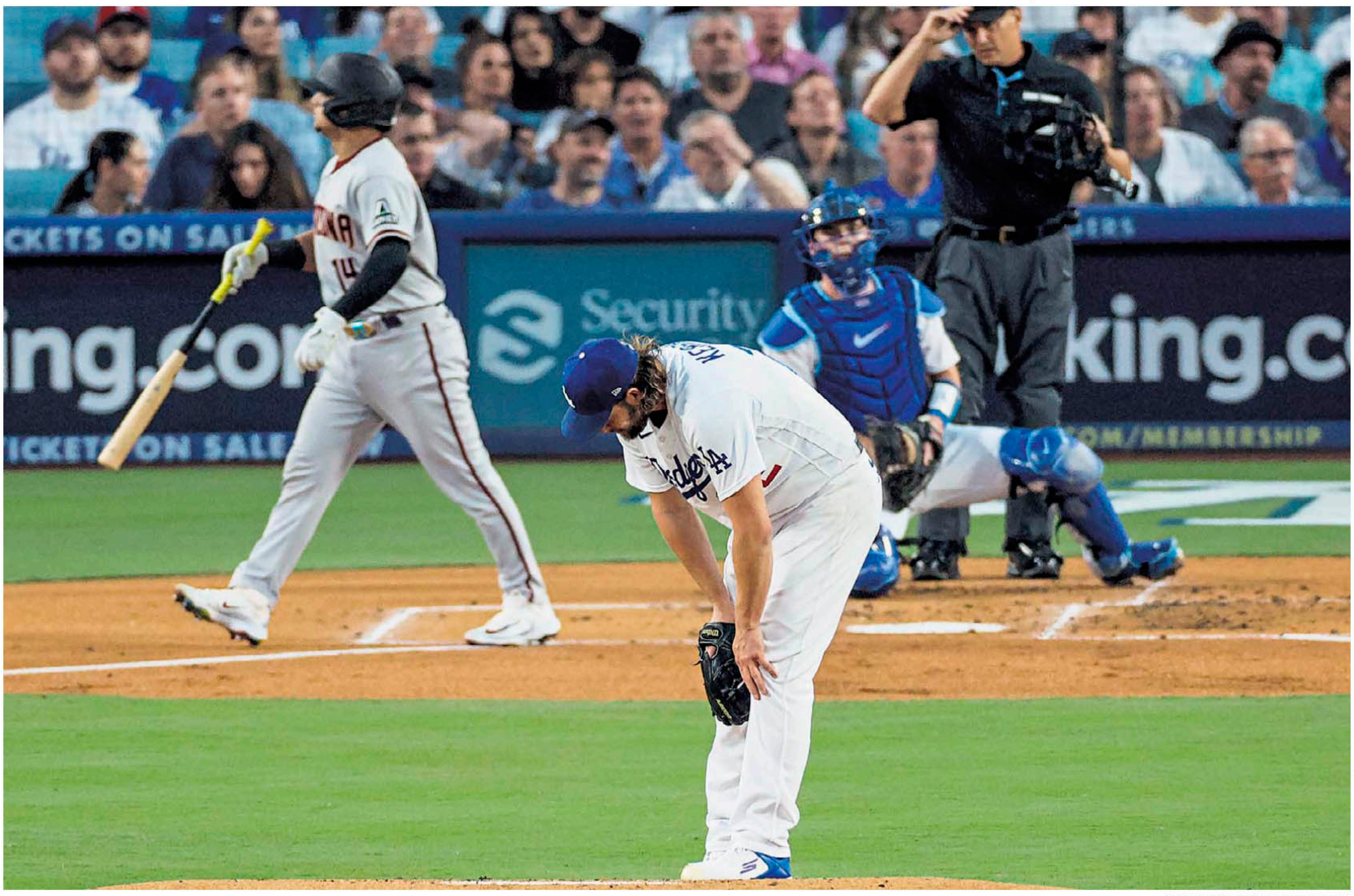
By then, everybody was con-

Continued on Page D7

BASEBALL | M.L.B. PLAYOFFS

'Just Bad Pitching': Kershaw Says His Health Is OK After a Brutal Start

By ANDY McCULLOUGH
The Athletic



KEVORK DJANSEZIAN/GETTY IMAGES

Clayton Kershaw, the Dodgers' starter in Game 1 of their division series with Arizona, got only one batter out, while giving up six runs and six hits, including a three-run home run to Gabriel Moreno.

LOS ANGELES — He sat alone on the dugout bench, bewildered and despondent, gazing out upon a Dodger Stadium crowd still filing into its seats. Smoke from the pregame fireworks had barely dispersed. The game was a little more than 15 minutes old. And already it felt over, the Dodgers on their way to a dispiriting 11-2 defeat to the Arizona Diamondbacks on Saturday in Game 1 of their National League division series after a disastrously abbreviated outing from Clayton Kershaw.

"Shocking," Manager Dave Roberts called it.

"I don't think anybody in the baseball world was expecting that," first baseman Freddie Freeman said.

"It's just embarrassing, really," Kershaw said. "I just feel like I let everybody down."

The details were grim: Kershaw gave up six runs and secured only one out. He became the first pitcher in postseason history to allow five runs and five hits before recording an out, according to ESPN Stats & Info. It was the worst performance of his checkered October career. It would be hard to draw up a worse opening to this postseason for the Dodgers, a 100-win club still reliant upon Kershaw even as he managed a shoulder injury in the second half of the season. The Diamondbacks hounded him with hellacious swings that demonstrated the aggressiveness of their approach and their comfort with Kershaw's reduced arsenal.

In the aftermath of the blowout, Roberts and Kershaw insisted the pitcher's health did not affect his performance. "I feel fine," Kershaw said, which has become his mantra when asked about his shoulder. Roberts echoed that stance. "I thought the stuff was good," Roberts said. "Just some mistakes that they capitalized on."

"There's nothing health-related here," Kershaw said. "Just bad pitching."

Roberts insisted Kershaw would pitch again in this series, which resumes with Game 2 on Monday night. "He's going to start Game 4," Roberts said. The Dodgers, of course, would need to force a Game 4, which would be on Thursday. Kershaw would need to perform on four days' rest, something he has not done since May 21. The Dodgers managed Kershaw with care in the second half. Every start he made in September came after at least six days' rest, so much that Kershaw, at 35, joked that he had become the club's Saturday starter, mimicking the schedule of a college pitcher.

To the untrained eye, in the season's final months, Kershaw maintained his usual standard. He posted a 2.23 earned run average in his final eight starts, including a five-inning, one-run outing against Arizona on Aug. 29. Yet as the postseason approached, this version of Kershaw was not the same pitcher who won three National League Cy Young Awards in the first half of the 2010s. He was not the same pitcher the Dodgers once trusted on short rest every October during most of that decade. He was not even the same pitcher who earned his 10th All-Star berth this summer before injuring his shoulder in late June.

ASHLEY LANDIS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Dodgers said the pitcher would start again in a Game 4.

"He's going to throw," his former teammate Joe Blanton once said, "until the wheels fall off." The wheels loosened in the final months of 2023. The shoulder ailment, which Kershaw has declined to publicly describe, has sapped his fastball velocity and disrupted his command. Dodgers officials have also declined to provide details for Kershaw's injury. Before Saturday's game, Roberts insisted that Kershaw was healthy. "This is as good as he's felt in the last couple of months," Roberts said.

Kershaw took the field at 5:33 p.m., his customary arrival time, 47 minutes before the first pitch. A gentle roar of acknowledgment emanated from the fans gathered along the third-base line. The cheers swelled as Kershaw jogged toward the center-field wall, planted his cleats in the warning track and pressed his hands against the padding to stretch. There would be little more to applaud as the evening progressed.

The Diamondbacks swarmed Kershaw from the start. Arizona second baseman Ketel Marte smoked the second pitch of the night into center field. The rookie outfielder James Outman ranged to his right and leaped. The baseball clanked off the heel of his glove; the scorer gifted Marte a double.

The contact only grew more concussive. Arizona outfielder Tommy Pham dug out a shin-high slider for a single. Up came first baseman Christian Walker. Kershaw picked up two strikes but failed to put Walker away. When Kershaw attempted a curveball, Walker smashed an R.B.I. double over the head of left fielder David Peralta. "It seemed like they were on everything he threw up there," Roberts said.

A more crushing sequence followed against Gabriel Moreno. Once again, Kershaw recorded two strikes but could not secure the third. Moreno demolished a hanging, full-count slider. The three-run shot landed deep in the left-field pavilion.

"Obviously, I didn't make some great pitches," Kershaw said. "And then sometimes I thought I did make some good ones and they hit them, too. I don't know what else to say."

Kershaw hunched at the waist as Moreno's homer took flight. He had assumed this position before, when he was younger and stronger and pitched at such an elevated state that his teammates considered him invincible. His October performances proved he was fallible. It was only after the Dodgers won the World Series in 2020 that Kershaw recognized how heavily his postseason struggles weighed upon him.

In a meeting on Friday, Kershaw implored some of the younger pitchers to capitalize on this moment. "Basically, he just said, 'You only get so many of these opportunities. Take it and run with it,'" the rookie pitcher Ryan Pepiot said. "And he also said, 'Don't have the fear of failure.'"

As he prepared for Game 1, Kershaw shared his changed outlook with his teammates. He felt compelled by the excitement of the opportunity, rather than fear of failure. But his perspective could not protect him against the Diamondbacks, a division rival unsurprised by his approach and unintimidated by his reputation.

Kershaw had time Saturday to consider what had gone wrong. The game had barely begun when he left. But he still could not formulate an answer.

"It's a tough way to start the postseason," Kershaw said. "Obviously, we still have a chance at this thing. But, yeah, that wasn't the way it should have started for me."

Andy McCullough is a senior M.L.B. writer for The Athletic.

RUNNING

Kenyan Runs 2:00:35, Setting World Record At Chicago Marathon

By MARK PULEO
The Athletic

KAMIL KRZACZYNSKI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Kelvin Kiptum of Kenya arrived at the finish line well ahead of everyone else to win the Chicago Marathon on Sunday.

Kelvin Kiptum of Kenya broke the world record for the marathon in Chicago on Sunday, becoming the first person to finish a record-eligible marathon in under 2 hours 1 minute. Kiptum finished the Chicago Marathon in 2 hours 35 seconds.

Eliud Kipchoge, who held the previous world record, 2 hours 1 minute 9 seconds, set in Berlin last year, also once ran a 1:59:40, but that was in a controlled race environment in 2019.

In achieving the record, Kiptum, 23, ran a 4:18 22nd-mile split, one of the fastest mile splits during a marathon in the event's history, according to the website Lets Run. He finished 3:27 ahead of his fellow Kenyan Benson Kipruto on Sunday; the Belgian Bashir Abdi finished third in 2:04:32.

Kiptum burst onto the marathon scene with a 2:01:53 course record at the 2022 Valencia Marathon, running a blistering 60:15 second half. After making his debut as the third man in history to run under 2:02, he won his first World Marathon Major in London in April. His 2:01:25 in London was the second-fastest marathon in history, falling just 16 seconds short of Kipchoge's mark.

Kiptum's trajectory is unlike anything the sport has seen. Kipchoge's magnificence is highlighted by his otherworldly durability, continuing to pace the sport in his late 30s. But he now has company at the top of the sport.

In the women's race, Sifan Hassan ran the second-fastest marathon in women's history, clocking in at 2:13:44. Her near-record time comes 14 days after Ethiopia's Tigst Assefa ran 2:11:53 in Berlin.

Hassan, who had run under world-record pace for much of the race, outran Ruth Chepngetich.

Hassan, who was born in Ethiopia and represents the Netherlands internationally, is one of the most decorated women in distance running history. Her crowded trophy case includes a triple-medal at the Tokyo Olympics, where she won gold in the 5,000 meters and 10,000 meters along with a bronze in the 1,500 meters, making her the only athlete in Olympic history to win medals across a middle-distance event and both long-distance races in a single Games.

In Chicago, American men were kept out of the top five but dominated the second tier. Running as a pack, Conner Mantz, Clayton Young, Galen Rupp and Sam Chelanga took spots six through nine, all running under 2:09.

Mantz, a Brigham Young graduate who earned international acclaim for his aggressive style at the Boston Marathon this spring, ran 2:07:47 to pace the Americans, beating Rupp by over a minute. Rupp, considered one of the best American distance runners in history, was making his marathon return after injuries. He finished second at Chicago in 2021, running 2:06:35. The 37-year-old is aiming to make his fifth Olympic team in 2024.

Kelvin Kiptum shaved 34 seconds off Eliud Kipchoge's 2022 time.

The American women performed similarly, as Emily Sisson and Molly Seidel led the country's efforts with seventh- and eighth-place finishes. Seidel was a national hero in 2021 after her surprise Olympic team qualification and then shockingly winning bronze in Tokyo. Since then, she finished fourth at the New York City Marathon in 2021 and then dropped out of Boston in 2022 with a hip injury. Sunday's race was her long-awaited return, and her personal-best time of 2:23:07 gave her a promising foundation ahead of next year's Olympic trip to Paris.

Sisson, who set the American women's marathon record in Chicago last year with a 2:18:29, went out in a sub-2:19 pace once again, but faded to a 2:22:09. The 31-year-old has made one Olympic team, competing in the 10,000 meters in 2021.

Mark Puleo is a news staff editor at The Athletic.

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LEGAL 5102

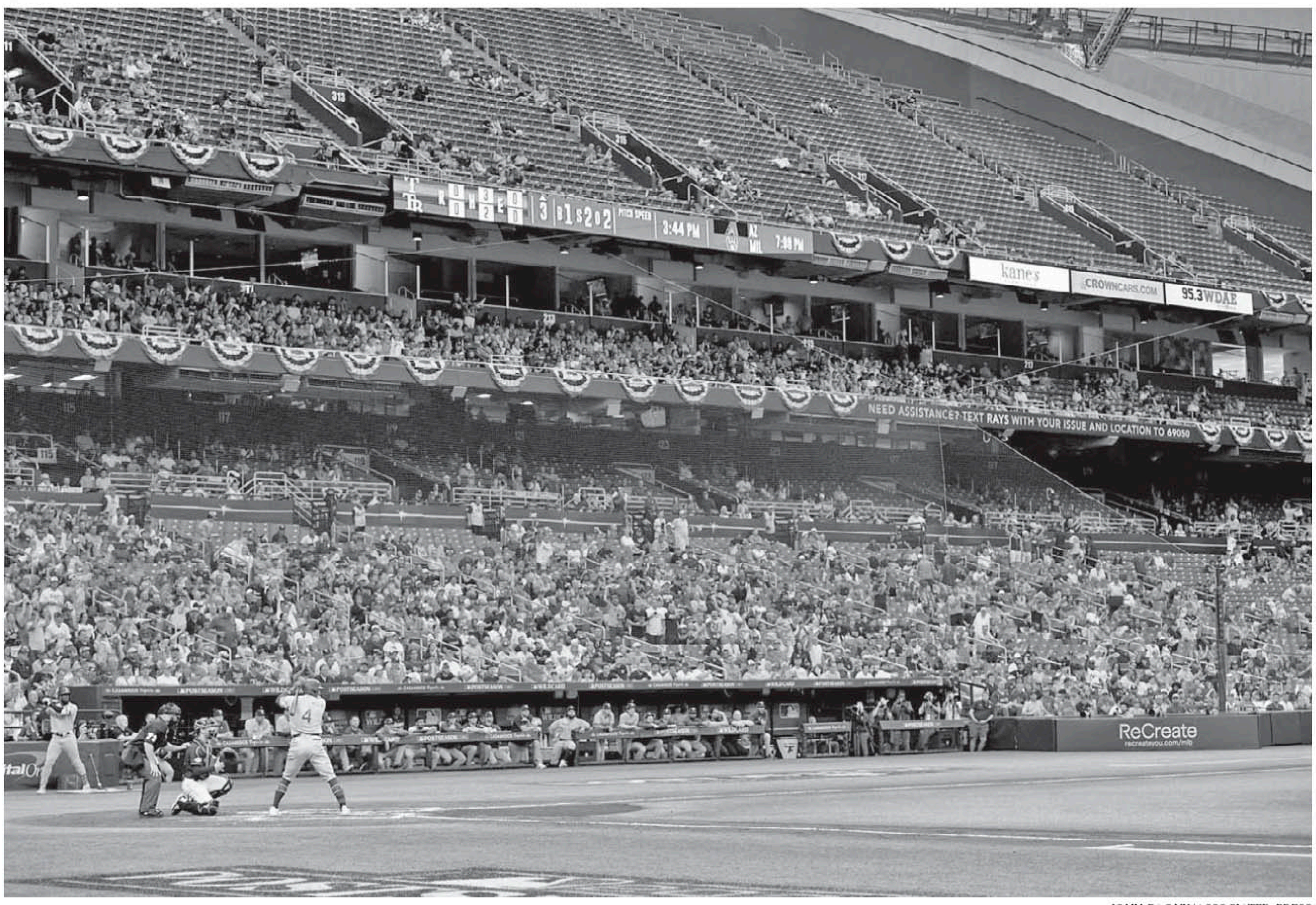
LEGAL NOTICE
NOTICE OF PUBLICATION

Notification hereby is given that Wells Fargo Bank, National Association, 101 N. Phillips Avenue, Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57104, has filed an application on October 9, 2023 with the Comptroller of the Currency, as specified in 12 C.F.R. 5.30 of the Comptroller's regulations, for permission to establish a domestic branch to be known as Forest Hills located at 10718 71st Ave, Forest Hills, Queens County, NY 11375.

Any person wishing to comment on this application may file comments in writing with the Director for Large Bank Licensing, Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, Mail Stop 10E-2, 400 7th Street SW, Washington, DC 20219 within 30 days after the date of this publication. The public may find information about the filing in the OCC's Weekly Bulletin available at www.occ.gov. Additionally, the public portion of the filed application is available upon request.

BASEBALL

Stadium Plans Ready, Rays Ask: If We Build It, Will Anyone Come?



JOHN RAOUX/ASSOCIATED PRESS

MEGAN BRIGGS/GETTY IMAGES

There were a few fans and a lot of empty seats at Tropicana Field for the wild-card series between the Tampa Bay Rays and the Texas Rangers. Many fans regard the stadium's location as inaccessible.

By CODY STAVENHAGEN
The Athletic

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. — Less than three weeks before the Tampa Bay Rays were swept from the M.L.B. playoffs in front of the smallest postseason crowds in the past century, the team owner Stu Sternberg stood at field level on a celebratory day at Tropicana Field and made a bold proclamation.

"Major League Baseball is here to stay," he said. "Right here."

This was supposed to be a time of celebration. The Rays had spent years shopping around for a new home in Tampa, seen by many as an ideal solution that would bring the ballpark and the club closer to the largest population base in the area. But they never secured the financing, so they looked elsewhere. Nashville was mentioned. Last year, M.L.B. even rejected a Rays plan to play half of their home games in Montreal.

When push came to shove, the franchise stayed. And now, as Sternberg made this announcement of a $1.2 billion stadium that would be built just across the parking lots here, the team's on-field product was as good as ever. Even with a small budget, the big-brain Rays were again chasing down the Baltimore Orioles for first place, shooting for the milestone of 100 wins.

Two and a half weeks later, the Rays were demolished by the Texas Rangers in the American League wild-card round, losing by 4-0 and 7-1 in a two-game sweep. Typically clean and punishing, the 99-win Rays committed four errors in Game 1. They made another error and stranded six runners in Game 2.

"We didn't play a good, clean baseball game by any stretch," Manager Kevin Cash said. "We didn't pitch, hit or defend."

Worse than that, their quixotic effort to turn St. Petersburg into a baseball town was exposed on national television as cameras panned over the half-empty stadium.

When the Rays announced an attendance of 19,704 for Game 1, the conclusion was startling: It was the lowest attendance for a playoff game (excluding the 2020 Covid season) since Game 7 of the 1919 World Series, when Eddie Cicotte and the Black Sox were on their way to infamy.

The fans who were there "made it pretty loud," shortstop Taylor Walls said after Tuesday's game. "It's always nice when the seats are full, but at the same time, I feel like the people that did come showed up and showed out."

Wednesday's attendance, an announced crowd of 20,198, wasn't much better. As the game took a familiar downturn, the broadcaster Sean McDonough said, "Some boos coming down from the group — I'm not sure we can call it a crowd."

Up in the stands of the odd dome they call the Trop, die-hard Rays fans bristled at the emptiness around them.

In Section 127, Jim Mickelson, a resident of St. Petersburg for the past 42 years, was clad in an Evan Longoria jersey. He waved his hand from left to right to highlight a line of empty seats.

"I don't get it," Mickelson said. "It's not like people do not have disposable income and cannot come to the games. I watched a game last night in Philadelphia. It's packed. Minnesota, they haven't won a playoff game in 18 years. Packed. Milwaukee, packed. I don't know."

Cameron Cordoves, 24, a Rays fan who lives north of Tampa, said he had been to about 10 games this year. He made the drive of more than an hour. He bought tickets to Games 1 and 2 and was ready to buy a ticket to Game 3 had the Rays made it that far.

Instead, he and a friend sat in Section 123, largely by themselves as the national anthem played.

"Yesterday was bad," Cordoves said. "It was wild. It was like a church in here. It was not good."

High up above home plate, Sam Clark, a Tampa resident, sat in the 300 level with no one in his vicinity. "It's embarrassing," he said. "We're on national television."

Even when the Rays are winning — and they have won plenty over the past five years — attendance has sagged. The Rays ranked 27th in average attendance this season, higher than only the Royals, Marlins and A's. Their average of 17,781 was actually the organization's highest for a non-Covid season since 2014.

Given that, some fans in attendance on Wednesday pointed to the 3:08 p.m. local start time as the culprit for the barren seats. The playoff opener had a lower attendance than 31 regular-season Rays games this year.

"It's tough giving a team with known attendance issues such a tough time slot," Cordoves said. "I know a lot of people are at work. I know about 10 people that would have made it to the game if the game was at 6 o'clock instead of 3."

Tropicana Field's location, too, could be a deterrent. Tampa is more populous (an estimated 387,050 people) than its sister city of St. Petersburg (258,201). Traffic is notoriously bad. The area is relatively undeveloped.

"I know the Tampa people should be over here because we go to Tampa to see the Lightning and the Bucs," Mickelson said, referring to the N.H.L. and N.F.L. teams. "I do that as well. I can't say, 'Well, there's a logistics problem.' I don't believe in that. I've been to New York, I've been to Chicago games, the Cubs. Try parking over there. You got to plan half a day just to see the game."

19,704
Attendance at Tropicana Field for Game 1 of the Rays-Rangers series, the lowest attendance for a postseason game since 1919.

In the 300 level, Tyler Adler and Brennan Cross stood in line for beer. They had both taken paid time off to make this game and seemed glad to be watching postseason baseball.

Still, they are among the people who wonder whether a new ballpark would be more successful if it were located in Tampa rather than St. Petersburg.

"I wished they knocked down the Fairgrounds and put it over there," Adler said, referring to a site that is currently used for concerts and events.

"Yeah," Cross said, "it would be nice if it were on the other side. But it'll be cool. We'll still go."

Debate aside, the Rays' planned new ballpark is set to be constructed on the same 86-acre tract of land where Tropicana Field now sits. Plans are still pending civic approval, but they call for the old ballpark to be demolished and the new stadium to be ready for opening day in 2028.

The planning for the new venue involves building an entertainment district around the stadium. It would feature more than eight million square feet of space intended for mixed development. Plans include more than 6,000 apartments and condos, office space, retail space and a Black history museum. Such multipurpose developments near ballparks have become desired by team owners.

The Rays may be stuck in Sisyphean circumstances. They are hailed as one of baseball's most intelligent organizations. Other clubs fear making trades with them. They are adept at scouting and developing talent.

But for all their success, they have not won a World Series in their 25-year existence. The Rays won the A.L. pennant in the truncated 2020 season but were bounced in a division series the next year. They lost in the wild-card round in each of the past two seasons, scoring only two runs over four postseason games. This year's Rays started 27-7, the best stretch to begin a season since the 1984 Tigers. But injuries riddled their pitching staff and the star shortstop Wander Franco was placed on administrative leave after allegations of a relationship with an underage girl.

"I don't know what it would be like if the Rays start losing again," Cordoves, one of the Rays fans, said. "People don't want to make the drive out here."

Cody Stavenhagen covers baseball for The Athletic.

SWIMMING

No Longer Just 'Goggles and a Suit': U.S. Olympic Coach Has Seen Lots of Changes

Pioneer Promotes Team and Diversity

By VICTOR MATHER

SIMON BRUTY/GETTY IMAGES

Anthony Nesty, shown in 1992, became the first Black person to win a gold medal in swimming, in 1988. Now, as the coach at Florida, he will lead the U.S. team at the Paris Olympics next year.

MICHAEL CONROY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Anthony Nesty has been breaking barriers in swimming for decades. In 1988, he became the first Black person to win an Olympic gold medal in swimming, representing Suriname in the 100-meter butterfly. Last month, he was named the men's swimming coach for the United States for the 2024 Paris Games, making him the first Black head coach of a U.S. Olympic swimming team.

Nesty, 55, who is also the head coach at the University of Florida, spoke about a coach's role, team chemistry and how social media and sponsorships have changed the sport.

This interview has been edited and condensed.

The American swimmers are among the best in the world, and they all have personal coaches. So what does the Olympic coach do?

Even though there are probably 32 individuals, my big thing is, we're all one team. We all have to support each other. We have to be enthusiastic; we have to bring good energy.

It's an individual sport. Why is team togetherness important?

I think chemistry, empathy for each other is imperative to have, especially when you go up against the world's best. I think that gives the U.S. the edge, because they have that in college.

They know how important relays are. How important getting behind each other, being a team, walking on deck at the same time, having the same uniform on are.

I remember being on the other side. Being the only swimmer from Suriname, seeing the U.S. walk on deck, you're like, "Wow." It's just the presence.

How would you compare coaching at a high level to swimming at that level? Do you ever want to jump in the pool and do it for them?

Not with all the aches and pains in my body!

I think the feelings are similar. Coaches get nervous; they get stress.

As a swimmer, you have to be confident in what you do. As a coach, you have to be confident in leading your team.

The most stressful part for us as coaches is probably the last 10 days. You're preparing to do something great. And that comes with a lot of pressure.

Especially nowadays. I didn't have all the social media, all the noise. It seems like every athlete has an Instagram page. People follow them, know their personalities, their history.

You have the sponsorships. Back when I swam, they gave you a pair of goggles and a suit, and you were good to go. Now there are a lot of incentives to perform at a high level, so the pressure is immense.

The U.S. men won eight gold medals at each of the last three Olympics. Do you have a specific goal for these Games?

As a coach, I'm very greedy for great performances.

My message to the team is to win as many golds as possible. If eight is the magic number, I want to win nine!

At the 2023 world championships, when you were an assistant coach, the men won only two golds in Olympic events. There were some mitigating factors, like the absence of the seven-time Olympic gold medalist Caeleb Dressel. But is that total concerning to you?

No, there were a lot of factors. Typically the U.S. is not as good the year before the Olympics. People say they're just putting in the work, not as focused as they need to be, so they can be ready for the summer.

The world championships was a big meet, but it also wasn't a big meet, if that makes sense. Because the next meet, the Olympics, is the big meet.

Throughout your career, you've broken barriers. Swimming remains a mostly white sport. What has changed since the late 1980s?

U.S.A. Swimming does a very nice job of having select camps for athletes of color and different backgrounds. My daughter Lillie went to one and came back so fired up.

If you look around the N.C.A.A. and high schools, there are lots more athletes of color competing, which is great to see. It has to start somewhere. I was the first one, but after that there were athletes of color swimming really well.

Are we there yet? No, but I think we're getting there.

What are the last things you say to a swimmer before he gets in the pool?

Strategic things I talk about a couple days before. Not the day of — it's too late.

So, "Are you ready? Do you need anything? Make sure you warm up well, swim down well." The things a parent might say.

And what might you say to an athlete after a poor performance?

All you can do is encourage them. Making the Olympic team for the U.S. is a big deal; it's one of the hardest things to do. Just being at the meet is such a great accomplishment.

MANDEL'S FINAL THOUGHTS

Red River Showdown May Quiet SEC Skeptics

By STEWART MANDEL
The Athletic

And now, 20 final thoughts from the sixth week of the college football season, where the average viewer sitting at home could probably manage the clock better than many of the coaches making six figures.

1 Like an Olympic torchbearer waiting for a turn in the relay, Greg Sankey, the commissioner of the Southeastern Conference, was at the Cotton Bowl in Dallas on Saturday for the last-ever Big 12 edition of the Red River showdown.

Skeptics have suggested for two years that Texas and Oklahoma will face a humbling reality when they join the SEC next season. But after watching the 12th-ranked Sooners' 34-30 win over the No. 3 Longhorns on Saturday, and having watched a lot of SEC football this season, I'd say both Oklahoma (6-0, 3-0 Big 12) and Texas (5-1, 2-1) would be contending for a berth in the conference championship were they competing in the SEC this year.

2 Oklahoma, which drove 75 yards in five plays to score the game-winning touchdown, has evolved into exactly the type of team Sooners fans envisioned when defensive-minded Brent Venables took over for the offensive savant Lincoln Riley. Oklahoma is still plenty explosive on offense. Quarterback Dillon Gabriel (285 yards passing, 113 yards rushing) could well follow in the footsteps of Baker Mayfield, Kyler Murray and Jalen Hurts and reach the Heisman stage in New York.

But most notable of all: This is Venables's Oklahoma defense now.

3 Texas quarterback Quinn Ewers's first two possessions ended in interceptions by Gentry Williams and Kendel Dolby. Later, the freshman Peyton Bowen forced an Ewers fumble. Linebackers Danny Stutsman and Jaren Kanak were everywhere. Ewers still had plenty of big moments, going 31 for 37 for 346 yards. It appeared he might complete a comeback win when the Longhorns, down, 27-17, rallied to go up, 30-27, with 1 minute 17 seconds left. But Gabriel, the nation's sixth-rated passer coming in, got his team in field-goal range by escaping a sack and finding Drake Stoops for 28 yards, then ended the suspense three plays later with a dart to Nic Anderson.

In his 43rd career start, Gabriel, who began his career in 2019 at Central Florida, delivered his biggest signature win to date.

4 If your reaction to this instant classic was, "I guess Texas isn't back after all," just stop. These were two legitimate top-10 teams, which, if you've noticed how the dozen other Big 12 schools are playing, seem quite likely to meet again with a College Football Playoff berth at stake. Oklahoma has a highly manageable remaining schedule, of which the toughest game might be . . . at Brigham Young? And while Texas now has no margin for error, it has that Alabama road win in its back pocket if its season comes down to a résumé game.

5 Back in the real-life, present-day SEC, though, it appears that Georgia is in fact still Georgia.

6 I had a feeling top-ranked Georgia (6-0, 3-0 SEC) might erupt against No. 20 Kentucky (5-1, 2-1) after last week's ugly win at Auburn. Quarterback Carson Beck came out slinging it like Stetson Bennett, finishing 28 for 35 for 389 yards and four touchdowns, and Georgia's defense held the Wildcats under 200 total yards in a 51-13 beatdown. Tight end Brock Bowers had yet another big game, but we also saw wide receiver Marcus Rosemy-Jacksaint catch a 40-yard touchdown and the Mississippi State transfer Rara Thomas with a season-high five catches for 63 yards.

We'll see whether Kirby Smart's team starts playing like this every week, but we at least know now the two-time champions still have it in them.

7 In fact, we might be heading toward a familiar SEC championship game matchup.

No. 11 Alabama's 26-20 win at Texas A&M may be ultimately remembered as the Jalen Milroe game. Despite getting sacked six times, despite no help from his running game, and despite his line committing an absurd nine false starts, Milroe, Alabama's season-long question mark, threw for a season-high 321 yards and three touchdowns. He just kept getting the ball to Jermaine Burton, and the Tide outscored the Aggies, 16-3, in the second half.

8 At times, Texas A&M Coach Jimbo Fisher seemed to be coaching in a different game — perhaps an Iowa game? He punted on fourth-and-1 in his opponent's territory. Down by 9 points with two minutes left, he kicked a field goal from the Alabama 2-yard line. The whole thing felt like one big missed opportunity for A&M (4-2, 2-1), which was technically in the game until the end but was not particularly threatening at any time.

9 Louisville football over the last 20 years has been a series of flashes: Bobby Petrino's 2006 team that reached No. 2 in the country; the Charlie Strong and Teddy Bridgewater 2012 team that upset No. 4 Florida in the Sugar Bowl; Lamar Jackson's 2016 Heisman season. Every time, the coach either leaves or is fired, and it starts all over again.

But Jeff Brohm is a native son. He could be there a long time. And he is ahead of schedule. His first team moved to 6-0 with a compelling 33-20 upset of No. 10 Notre Dame (5-2) on Saturday night. Jawhar Jordan gashed the Irish on 21 carries for 143 yards and two touchdowns, sending Cardinals fans rushing onto the field just like in the old days.

10 Sam Hartman was a big off-season pickup for Notre Dame, and he got off to a fantastic start, throwing 14 touchdowns and no interceptions in his first six games. But turnovers were his Achilles' heel at Wake Forest, and they came rearing back Saturday in the form of three interceptions — on the same field as his six-turnover meltdown last season. He'll need to shake it off quickly with Caleb Williams and Southern California coming to South Bend next week.

11 Speaking of which, every week is an adventure for Southern California football, including Saturday's late game against Arizona. The Trojans (6-0, 4-0 Pac-12) botched their last sequence in regulation, leading to a missed chip-shot field-goal attempt; allowed a touchdown on Arizona's first play of overtime; and backed itself up with penalties, twice, in their second overtime. But Caleb Williams saved the day again in a 43-41 double-overtime win, despite struggling to reach 300 yards of offense in regulation and despite Williams completing just 11 passes before overtime.

Credit to much-improved Arizona (3-3, 1-2) for making it so tough on U.S.C.'s offense, and to quarterback Noah Fifita, who threw for 302 yards and five touchdowns in just his second career start. The Trojans have looked dazed and disjointed for much of their last three games, but they keep winning in spite of themselves.

12 Miami Coach Mario Cristobal's astounding clock-management gaffe Saturday night should go in a dictionary next to the word "inexcusable."

Up, 20-17, on Georgia Tech — which had no timeouts left — all Miami had to do was take a knee on third down and the clock would run out. Instead, the Hurricanes called a handoff to Donald Chaney Jr., who fumbled with 26 seconds left. Four quick plays later, quarterback Haynes King hit Christian Leary for a game-winning 44-yard touchdown. "That is one of the biggest coaching mistakes at this level that I have ever seen in my lifetime," the broadcaster Tim Hasselbeck said afterward.

It was Miami's first loss of the season, and Cristobal is not going to be fired for it, but that's

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AUERBACH'S TOP 10

A New Addition to the Rankings Charges Right to the Top Spot

By NICOLE AUERBACH | The Athletic

1 | Oklahoma (6-0)

Quarterback Dillon Gabriel etched his name into the Sooners' history books with an epic 75-yard touchdown drive against Texas in the final minute of a wild Red River rivalry game on Saturday. Throwing the game-winning touchdown pass while the pocket collapses on you? That's the stuff of legend. But let us not forget the Oklahoma defense's four stops at the 1-yard line at the beginning of the fourth quarter, which kept Texas out of the end zone in a one-possession game and epitomized the relentless defensive effort Oklahoma put forth from start to finish in a 34-30 win. The Sooners were prepared. They were physical. And they were dominant.

Oklahoma's special teams unit certainly needs to be cleaned up, but Gabriel's 285 yards in the air and 113 on the ground kept the Sooners in the game in the face of multiple Texas counterpunches. What a win for Coach Brent Venables, who drew quite a bit of criticism amid his 6-7 showing in Year 1 at Oklahoma, including a 49-0 loss to Texas. Now, Venables gets his first signature win, and the Sooners re-announce themselves as national championship contenders in a season that feels particularly wide open.

I have Oklahoma jumping not just into the top 10 but all the way to the top spot on the strength of the best win in the country to date. The Sooners hadn't been getting as much love as they probably deserved because it wasn't ranked opponents they'd been destroying during a 5-0 September. Still, the Sooners entered Week 6 ranked No. 4 in the country in net points per drive, a reflection of their offensive efficiency and defensive firepower. They now sit in the driver's seat for a Big 12 title and a College Football Playoff berth, and they will be heavy favorites in every one of their remaining regular-season games.

KEVIN JAIRAJ/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

Oklahoma quarterback Dillon Gabriel led an epic game-winning drive in the final minute against Texas.

Nicole Auerbach covers college football and college basketball for The Athletic. Each week, she ranks the 10 best college football teams in the country. The final spot will go to a team that may not actually be the 10th-best team in the country, but still deserves recognition.

TODD KIRKLAND/GETTY IMAGES

Carson Beck had his best performance of the season.

2 | Georgia (6-0)

Finally, a complete game. Finally, actual dominance. This is what we've been waiting to see from the Bulldogs since Week 1. Maybe it's a little greedy to ask for more than 300 first-half passing yards from Georgia quarterback Carson Beck every time out, but I certainly want to see something that looks closer to that offensive efficiency on a weekly basis than the slow starts that became a concerning pattern in September. After taking a 34-7 lead into the locker room against No. 20 Kentucky, it was basically pick your point total the rest of the way. The final score was 51-13, and it wasn't even that close.

Beck had his best performance of the season, completing 28 of 35 passes for 389 yards and four touchdowns. Tight end Brock Bowers turned in his third consecutive 100-yard game. Things looked easy for Georgia for once. This is the team we thought Georgia would be, one that could win a third national championship in three years.

ABBIE PARR/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Coach Jim Harbaugh used 73 of his 74 players.

3 | Michigan (6-0)

The funniest thing about the Wolverines is that they can thoroughly dominate a game from start to finish and the statistics won't necessarily show that. Perhaps the nicer way to say that is this team is so deep and so balanced that it's hard to figure out who broke open a game and when. In Saturday's 52-10 win over Minnesota, no Michigan receiver racked up more than 90 yards. No Michigan running back had more than nine carries. Even quarterback J.J. McCarthy, who rushed for two touchdowns and threw another, didn't put up overwhelming numbers: 14-of-20 passing for 219 yards to go along with four carries for 17 yards. Obviously, McCarthy accounted for meaningful yardage. But a glance at the box score wouldn't reveal his impact on this game.

None of this bothers Coach Jim Harbaugh. He played 73 of the 74 players he took to Minneapolis, getting almost everybody on the travel roster snaps in a conference game on the road. This is the second consecutive complete game we've seen from Michigan, and Saturday's impressive performance still doesn't seem close to this team's ceiling.

MICHAEL CHANG/GETTY IMAGES

Trey Benson (3) is a luxury for the Seminoles.

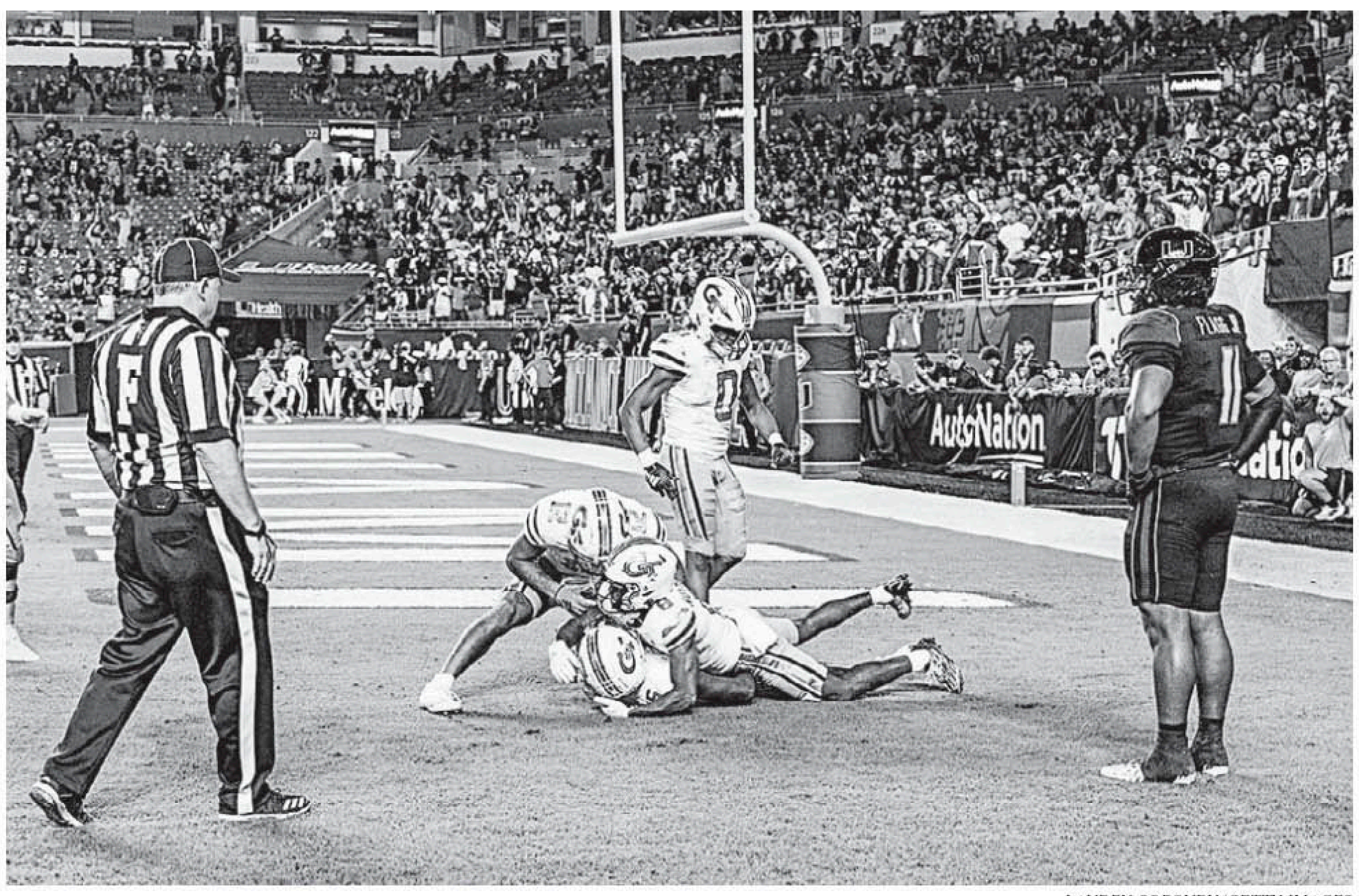
4 | Florida State (5-0)

The Seminoles played with their food a little bit on Saturday, jumping out to a big lead on Virginia Tech, then watching the Hokies cut it down to 5 after a 99-yard kickoff return for a touchdown before pulling away for good in a 39-17 win. What a luxury it is to have a running back like Trey Benson, who ripped off touchdown runs of 85 and 67 yards and finished with 200 rushing yards on just 11 carries.

To address the elephant in the room: Yes, the Seminoles fell from the top spot in these rankings. But that decision was less about Florida State and more about other teams elevating themselves in Week 6. Expect the top spot to be more of a revolving door the rest of the way than it has been in recent years.

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

JEROME MIRON/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS



LAUREN SOPOURN/GETTY IMAGES

Above, Georgia Tech's Christian Leary, at the bottom of a pile of teammates, after the winning score against Miami. At left, Oklahoma's Key Lawrence breaking up a Hail Mary against Texas.

the kind of blunder that will be brought up any time anyone has cause to critique his job performance going forward.

13 Perhaps Ohio State Coach Ryan Day was still trying to impress Lou Holtz early on against Maryland. As Ohio State, minus its star running back, TreVeyon Henderson, kept trying unsuccessfully to establish the run, the Terps jumped to a 17-10 third-quarter lead. Plan B: Let quarterback Kyle McCord rip. Ohio State ran away in the fourth quarter, winning, 37-17. McCord, underwhelming in the first half, went 11 for 14 for 205 yards and tossed two touchdowns after halftime. He targeted Marvin Harrison on 15 of his 29 passes, and the all-American caught eight for 163 yards and a score.

For all the talk about whether Day's team is physical enough, it was nice to see the return of Ohio State's explosive passing game. Meanwhile, the defense held Maryland scoreless on its last four drives, starting with Lathan Ransom's game-turning interception.

14 Michigan (6-0, 3-0 Big Ten), which crushed Minnesota, 52-10, on Saturday, has reached the midpoint of its season having outscored its opponents by an average margin of 37-7. We knew the Wolverines' defense would be very good, but it's also notable how Michigan is unleashing quarterback J.J. McCarthy. His passer rating has jumped from 155.0 to 188.5, his completion percentage from 64.6 to 77.6. Those numbers will normalize once the Wolverines start facing better competition, but that might not be for a while. Their next three games are against 2-3 Indiana, 2-3 Michigan State and 2-4 Purdue.

What do all these Big Ten schools do with all that TV money? Not win football games, apparently.

15 No player in the country is being asked to do more right now than Louisiana State quarterback Jayden Daniels. With the Tigers' secondary mostly helpless to contain Missouri wide receivers Luther Burden II (11 catches for 149 yards) and Theo Wease (four catches, 80 yards), L.S.U. fell into an early 22-7 hole. At this point, Daniels (15 for 21 for 250 yards, three touchdowns, no interceptions) led his team to scores on six of its next seven drives (the other was a missed field-goal attempt). His 29-yard touchdown throw to Malik Nabers put L.S.U. ahead, 42-39, with 2:58 left. Major Burns's pick-6 sealed No. 23 L.S.U.'s 49-39 win over No. 21 Missouri.

Brian Kelly needed that one. A third loss this soon could have sent L.S.U.'s season into a full-on spiral. Instead, the Tigers are a mere half-game out in the SEC West.

16 One of the biggest surprises of the season so far: U.C.L.A. owns the nation's top-ranked defense (3.7 yards per play allowed). The Bruins (4-1, 1-1 Pac-12) shut down the previously torrid Washington State quarterback Cameron Ward and outgained his team, 482-216, in handing the 13th-ranked Cougars (4-1, 1-1) their first loss, 25-17.

Defense had been a source of fan frustration throughout Chip Kelly's first five seasons, but in 2023 he has built up a disruptive defensive line, and the 33-year-old defensive coordinator, D'Anton Lynn, does a great job mixing up plays. They need all those stops, too, because Dante Moore, the Bruins' freshman quarterback, is still a work in progress. His pick-6 before halftime helped keep Missouri in the game.

17 With quarterback Cade McNamara suffering a season-ending injury a week ago, Iowa went with a sophomore, Deacon Hill, who was 6 for 21 for 110 yards, one touchdown and one interception. Naturally, the Hawkeyes (5-1, 2-1 Big Ten) never trailed, beating Purdue, 20-14.

Through six games, Iowa is averaging 21.83 points per game. To get to 325 points in the team's "Drive for 325," the Hawkeyes will need to produce 27.14 points a game the rest of the way. But does it really matter? At this rate, Iowa is going to win 10 games, make a New Year's Six bowl and get new contracts for everybody.

18 The Big 12, outside of Oklahoma and Texas, is a bit of a dumpster fire, to put it mildly. Oklahoma State (3-2, 1-1), the same team that lost, 33-7, to South Alabama, smacked the defending champion, Kansas State (3-2, 1-1), on Friday. Iowa State (3-3, 2-1) is now higher in the standings than Texas Christian (3-3, 1-2) after crushing the Frogs, 27-14. Baylor is 2-4 after losing by 25 points at home to 3-3 Texas Tech.

The league's third-best team may be Kansas (5-1, 2-1), which bounced back from a blowout loss at Texas to run for a staggering 399 yards in a 51-22 smackdown against Central Florida. Lance Leipold's team previously handed Brigham Young its sole loss. The Jayhawks probably aren't winning the Big 12, but I wouldn't rule out 10-2 for Kansas.

19 For the second time this season, a major broadcast network (Fox) went to Laramie, Wyo., and for the second time, Wyoming upset the visitors. Craig Bohl's Cowboys (5-1, 2-0 Mountain West Conference) knocked off No. 24 Fresno State (5-1, 1-1), 24-19, ending the Bulldogs' 14-game win streak. Wyoming, which beat Texas Tech in Week 1, next visits 5-0 Air Force. No weeks off in the Mountain West.

20 Finally, let's pay some respect to North Carolina's Drake Maye, who entered the season with more acclaim than any quarterback not named Caleb Williams, but, through no fault of his own, has been overshadowed by all the stars out West.

The 14th-ranked Tar Heels (5-0, 2-0) shredded Syracuse (4-2, 0-2), 40-7, on Saturday, with Maye going 33 for 47 for 442 yards, three touchdowns and no interceptions, while also running for 55 yards and a score. Maye does not get many showcase opportunities playing in the A.C.C., but next week's North Carolina home game against Miami will get the ABC prime-time treatment.

Fortunately for Cristobal, the Miami coach, he will most likely not have a last-minute lead to blow.

GERALD HERBERT/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The new Washington athletic director, Troy Dannen.

5 | Washington (5-0)

The Huskies were idle, but they were in the news on Saturday for hiring a new athletic director. Troy Dannen comes to Seattle from Tulane, where he has been the athletic director for the past eight years. The news release announcing Dannen's hire included rave reviews from the current head coach, Kalen DeBoer, and the former one, Chris Petersen. Both had input on the hire, and both raved about Dannen's creativity and experience in football. His background makes him the perfect fit for a university switching conferences and a football program looking to contend for national titles.

This week's matchup against Oregon could be the best game of the regular season, a top-10 showdown that is certainly worthy of a visit from ESPN's "College Gameday." The Huskies and Ducks may be the two best teams in the Pac-12, each with a Heisman Trophy contender at quarterback and dreams of making the playoff. It should be a fantastic game.

TOM HAUCK/GETTY IMAGES

The Ducks' Bo Nix got some rest this week.

6 | Oregon (5-0)

The Ducks were idle ahead of their trip to Seattle to take on Washington, a game that pits the two best offenses in the country against each other. Oregon has owned this rivalry in recent years, winning 15 of the last 18 meetings, but Washington got the win last season in a thrilling back-and-forth game. Here's hoping we have a fully healthy Michael Penix Jr. and a fully healthy Bo Nix from start to finish this year — and that we get a game befitting two of the best teams in the country.

TOM HAUCK/GETTY IMAGES

Coach Dan Lanning is preparing for Washington.

BEN JACKSON/GETTY IMAGES

Chip Trayanum (19) in a win against Maryland.

7 | Ohio State (5-0)

The final score of Ohio State's 37-17 win over Maryland is a bit misleading; the teams did not look 20 points apart for most of the game. The Terps gave the Buckeyes everything they could handle for three quarters, looking like the better-prepared team. Maryland was tough in the trenches and looked vastly improved defensively from seasons past. But Terps quarterback Taulia Tagovailoa's mistakes directly gave the Buckeyes points (a pick-6 in the second quarter), cost the Terps points (a play that ran the clock out before they could attempt a field goal at the end of the first half) and set up Ohio State to take its first lead of the game (another interception, in the third quarter). His inconsistent day helped the hosts hang around until they woke up.

Ohio State has some issues — the Buckeyes averaged just 1.9 yards per carry and converted just three of 12 third downs in the game — and quarterback Kyle McCord was unimpressive for long stretches. This team will need to play significantly better to beat Penn State in two weeks.

JEROME MIRON/USA TODAY, VIA REUTERS

Malik Muhammad recovering a blocked punt.

8 | Texas (5-1)

Despite the last-minute loss to the Sooners, the Longhorns stay ranked. Frankly, there was no chance I would drop them out of the top 10 after a game of that caliber. Even after the Longhorns failed to score on four plays from the 1-yard line, I thought Texas would win. After Jonathon Brooks's touchdown run to tie the score and Bert Auburn's field goal that gave the Longhorns a 3-point lead with 77 seconds to play, I definitely thought Texas would win. Obviously, that didn't happen — and the No. 1 next to Oklahoma's name reflects that.

Dillon Gabriel outplayed Quinn Ewers, but there were plenty of moments and some areas in which the Longhorns were the better team. Special teams, of course, was one: Texas successfully faked a punt and scored a touchdown off a blocked Oklahoma punt. But the Longhorns started too slowly and made too many mistakes to overcome. I'm not too worried about the Longhorns, who should be heavy favorites in every game left on their schedule. I hope we'll get a Red River rematch in the Big 12 title game, and there's no doubt this Texas team wants a second shot at the Sooners, too.

ERIN HOOLEY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Nicholas Singleton, left, with Drew Allar.

9 | Penn State (5-0)

The Nittany Lions were idle, and they are inching closer to a massive game against Ohio State on Oct. 21. A tuneup against UMass should help quarterback Drew Allar and company get this offense humming, putting a sluggish first half against Northwestern two Saturdays ago further in the rearview mirror.

MICHAEL REAVES/GETTY IMAGES

Allar is gearing up for a game against UMass.

JAMIE RHODES/USA TODAY, VIA REUTERS

Louisville pounded Notre Dame's Sam Hartman.

10 | Louisville (6-0)

When the Cardinals finally persuaded Coach Jeff Brohm to return to his alma mater, they did so dreaming of nights like Saturday. It wasn't just that the offense rolled or that the defense was aggressive and opportunistic. It was that Louisville excelled on both sides of the ball and came through in every moment it needed to in front of a raucous home crowd, showing the nation that this team's undefeated start is no fluke.

The Cardinals sacked Notre Dame quarterback Sam Hartman five times and picked him off twice in a 33-20 win, the first by an Atlantic Coast Conference team over Notre Dame in the regular season since 2017. Now, Louisville is 6-0 for the first time in a decade, and there's more excitement around this football program than there has been since Lamar Jackson zigged and zagged around A.C.C. defenses. The Louisville fans stormed the field after the clock hit zeros, and there wasn't a more deserved celebration.

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FOOTBALL

Steve Young, Girls' Flag Football, and Embracing the Next Calling

DAN POMPEI/THE ATHLETIC

From Page D1

vinced Young would never be Montana, and Young was continually reminded of it by hostile fans and commentators. The San Francisco Chronicle published an opinion piece with the headline "The Gulf War: It's Steve Young's Fault."

For four years, Young was second string. In one of the years, he was so disenchanted he refused to cash paychecks for an entire season — $4 million — until the team talked him into it after the season ended.

As the circumstances would have it, the Montana relationship was professional but prickly. Even olive branches had thorns. When Montana invited Young for Christmas dinner, one of Montana's young children interrupted and asked, "Dad, is this the guy we hate?"

Rice never expressed animosity, but his preference for Montana was clear. He was uncomfortable with the backward spin on Young's throws (Young is a lefty; Montana a righty) and uneasy about Young's disregard for staying in the pocket.

Someone who loved the game less would have been crushed by the pressure. Young responded with exuberance. When Rice ran a reverse against the Chicago Bears in 1987, Young blocked defensive lineman Dan Hampton as if he were a monster truck. Teammates called him Crash after that.

Fearless and fast, Young ushered in a new era of running quarterbacks. But like most young passers blessed with speed, he was too quick to tuck and run. His coaches challenged him to learn to win from the pocket. It was a call he embraced.

The climb was grueling, though. Young experienced anxiety and found joy elusive. On the night before home games, he watched from the team hotel as planes took off from the airport, wishing he were on one of them. And the next morning, he did not want to get out of bed.

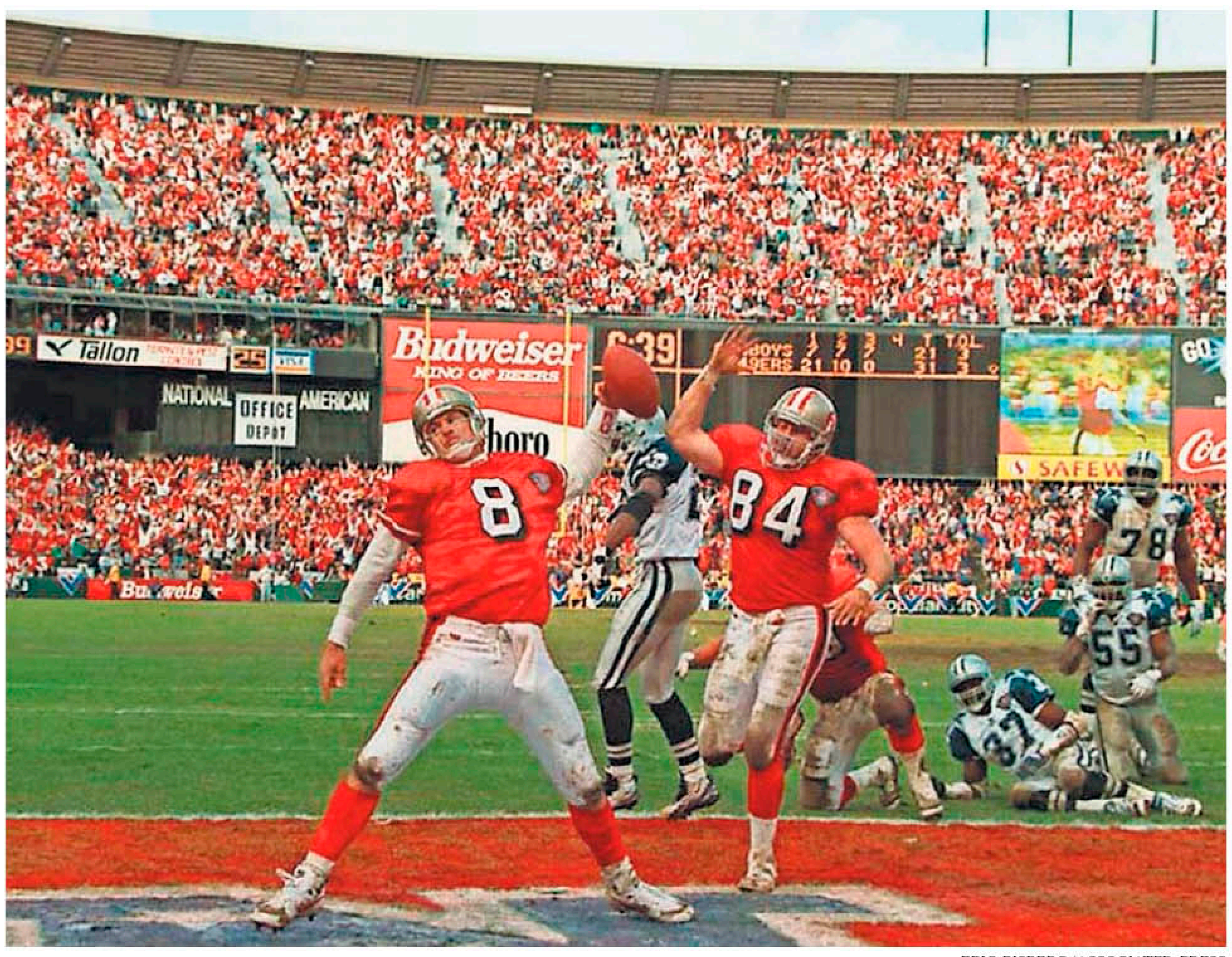
After that loss to the Raiders, Young flew to Salt Lake City to spend a day with his brother Mike. As he took a seat on the plane back to San Francisco, he questioned if he could make it through the season. Next to him was Stephen Covey, author of "The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People."

Young bared his soul to Covey, telling him he wished he were a golfer or a tennis player without teammates to concern himself with. Young writes about it in his inspirational book, "The Law of Love."

Covey made him think about how the 49ers owner Edward John DeBartolo Jr. saw players as partners, how Walsh looked at players holistically, how the offensive coordinator Mike Holmgren understood quarterbacks like few others and how Montana set an example to follow. "I don't know of anyone that I've ever met, anywhere in the world, who is in a better place with a better platform to go see how good he can be," Covey told him.

On that plane ride, Young's outlook changed.

Eventually, the 49ers traded Haley and Montana. The rest of the players who were invested in Montana moved on. The 49ers became Young's team. He won everything a quarterback can win and transitioned from a runner-thrower to a passer — a pure passer — better than anyone, leading the N.F.L. in passer rating in six of seven seasons.



ERIC RISBERG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Remember the great potential in failure that he told Laila about? This was it.

Haley continued to torment Young as a member of the Cowboys, but it was different coming from an opponent.

During the 1998 season, 49ers Coach Steve Mariucci brought up the idea of bringing back Haley. He asked his leaders on the team who was in favor of signing the free agent.

Young was the first to raise his hand.

These days, Young looks forward to seeing Montana. He and Rice live near each other and are closer than ever. Young's football journey is celebrated with a ring nearly the size of a golf ball, but it was about so much more. It was about reconciliation and resourcefulness, subjugation of self and survival, determination and vindication.

So when he retired in 2000 after 17 seasons of professional football, Steve Young had much to share.

From Football to Family

At 61, Young has smooth skin and clear, blue eyes. He wears his hair in a tousled, boyish style. A great-great-great-grandson of Brigham Young, he does not drink alcohol or caffeine. He takes a four-mile jog a few times a week and sprints some. Every night, he spends an hour on mobility.

You never would guess that during his football days, he had a herniated disk, a torn groin muscle, a knee injury that tore four ligaments and a meniscus, a compressed peroneal nerve that cut off sensation to his leg, neck sprains, broken ribs and a torn shoulder labrum. He also had about 10 known concussions, including one that effectively ended his career.

In 2007, Young helped found HGGC, a private equity firm. Young, the chairman of the company, which manages $6.9 billion in investments, looks out his Palo Alto office window and points to a palm tree. It's about three football fields away. It's in the yard of his home.

That home, not the office, is the center of Young's world now. He goes back and forth from office to home all day. "If my wife needs something — anything, it's happening," he says.

His goal was to marry and have children before he retired from football — he hoped to share his sport with a family — but Young did not meet Barb until he was close to retirement. They wed the year he walked away from football. Children came quickly.

Braden, 22, and Jackson, 20, are gifted entertainers. An actor and singer, Braden recently graduated from the Manhattan School of Music. Steve describes Jackson, who is pursuing his undergraduate degree, as a "festival of fun."

Neither had much interest in football, however.

Summer wears her father's No. 8 and has his fire. She has told her parents she intends to be great at something. Last spring, she ran the 100- and 200-meter dashes on the track team. In the final meet of the year, she tried the high jump for the first time. Within three weeks, Summer, 17, qualified for the California state tournament and jumped 5 feet 6 inches, good for ninth place and an offer from Navy on the drive home.

Laila, 14, is also quite an athlete, gritty and fast. A competitive dancer, she moves as if she is all soft tissue, no bones. She gets her father to dance with her, and, good sport that he is, he permits her to post it on TikTok.

Football, Barb says, is "a part of Steve's being." But for the longest time, it was not a part of his home.

Barb never followed the sport. Games did not play on the family-room television. If Steve wanted to watch, he would tune in on his phone.

When he was a part of the ESPN "Monday Night Football" pregame show, Young usually dropped the children off for school on Monday morning, flew to the game site, and then flew back home in time to drive them to school on Tuesday morning.

"He's the most amazing dad," Barb says. "He loves being involved in anything they are doing."

Back to the Basics

He also loves sharing his knowledge. That is why he valued his 22-year association with ESPN before he was let go this summer in a round of layoffs.

Young's perspective probably is more relevant than ever because of his pioneering playing style. Many of today's quarterbacks are reminiscent of him, or would like to be.

JONATHAN DANIEL/GETTY IMAGES

Young at his Pro Football Hall of Fame induction in 2005. He once wanted to be a star in an individual sport.

AL GOLUB/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Steve Young, top, teaching Paige Miller to throw. Menlo School uses the 49ers offense Joe Montana (16) and Young led.

"I was the oddity in the old days, but I'd be the prototype today," he says. "You have to have a dynamic athlete at quarterback because there are too many yards to be gained because defenders can't launch anymore and defenses can't cover as much ground. The middle is now unpatrolled. The game they are playing today is my game."

Young hopes to still provide commentary about the game he loves. But this fall, he connects to football in a different way.

They call Atherton the wealthiest city in America. Ty Cobb lived there then, Stephen Curry lives there now, and neighbors do not turn their heads. Of course, the neighbors have included the billionaires Paul Allen, Charles Schwab and Eric Schmidt.

Girls in Atherton traditionally have participated in sports such as gymnastics, water polo, golf and tennis. This is the first season Menlo has a flag football team, as California is sanctioning high school girls' flag football for the first time. The enthusiasm is palpable.

They call themselves the Menlo Knights, but they could be the 49ers. The Menlo playbook is the Bill Walsh playbook. "Black 59 Razor" is the same play with Montana or Paige Miller calling it. Young led a team outing to the 49ers-Giants game, where they watched from a suite and met N.F.L. Commissioner Roger Goodell.

Knights Coach John Paye, a teammate of Young's for two seasons on the 49ers, asked Young to assist him. Young had never coached before, but he has led adult Sunday school classes for 16 years.

The girls line up on the practice field behind the school, waiting for instruction. They want to know how to throw a football. And they want it explained by one of the best to do it.

Young has to think about what to say to someone who has no idea how to throw a football. The motion, he realizes, is not intuitive. He thinks back to his early days at Brigham Young, watching Jim McMahon, and reflects on how he developed his mechanics.

"Your thumb has to come down, not out," he tells Miller, a senior. "And your elbow has to be pointed at the target."

There is the physical, and there is the mental, as Young remembers well.

"I can throw the ball, but I get in my own head and often have trouble," Miller says. "So he tells me to take a deep breath, be calm, like peace. He's amazing because he's connecting with us on an emotional level."

An unpaid volunteer, Young is compensated in ways he never expected. Through these girls, he experiences the joy of the sport — joy that is familiar; joy that is fresh.

"You grew up going to the boys' games, and you never really got to experience it yourself," Summer says. "It's a sport I always wanted to play, and now I get to play."

To her father, it's not just after-school recreation.

"This is America's game, and they're playing it," Young says. "We talk about inclusion a lot now. This is what it feels like and looks like. And it feels like we should have been doing this for 30 years."

Young is not instructing the players only on how to play football. He's teaching them how to depend on themselves — and one another. He's helping them uncover ferocity they did not know they had. He's showing the girls how to push themselves to the limits of their imagination.

"There were coaches in my life who had my development and who I was going to become in their hands," he says. "A coach is like a parent, a priest, a policeman — the people in our society that we trust to do good with the power they have. A coach is a powerful position because so much human development can happen. It's not just how you throw a ball or run a route that a coach can influence but who you will become as a person."

When he announced his retirement from the N.F.L., Young told the world that what was ahead for him in many ways was more important than what he was leaving behind. This is what he was talking about.

In a recent practice, Menlo quarterback Ava Kallen struggled to find a teammate to throw to.

She approached Young.

Ava: "What do I do if the receivers aren't open?"

Young: "You can run it."

Ava: "I can?"

Young: "Yes, absolutely, try it."

Her face lights up.

Steve Young's face lights up, too.

PRO BASKETBALL

DANIEL BROWN/THE ATHLETIC

Kim Trinidad, Golden State's vice president for marketing and operations, said Thompson was "the gift that keeps on giving."

For Every Mood Thompson Has, A Bobbling Head

By DANIEL BROWN
The Athletic

SAN FRANCISCO — Kim Trinidad's previous jobs included hyping ice cream for Dreyer's and pushing music for Pandora, so she is accustomed to peddling sunshine for a living.

But no workday is more fun for her than when the Golden State Warriors' marketing team meets to brainstorm ideas for the next Klay Thompson bobblehead day.

Things can get weird. Previous ideas included Kayak Klay, Surfer Klay and Captain Klay.

"Klay has more moods than I can count, and at this point we have barely touched the surface of that," Trinidad, Golden State's vice president for marketing and operations, said with a laugh. "He's the gift that keeps on giving as far as how we are able to shape ideas around him season after season."

Trinidad brought props. Leaning across a conference table inside Chase Center, she showed off this season's eclectic offering: Paper Plane Klay will be distributed to the first 10,000 fans before an Oct. 20 preseason game against San Antonio.

The statuette features Thompson, a five-time N.B.A. All-Star guard, wearing Aviator shades and looking like a "Top Gun" extra while poised to launch a paper airplane. It's a nod to Thompson's news conference ritual in which he turns a page of statistics into an origami jetliner and sends it skyward as his parting shot.

"The first time that he threw a paper plane, I was like, 'Oh, that's it!'" Trinidad said. "The media couldn't stop talking about it. Fans couldn't stop talking about it. And I was like, 'Knowing Klay, this is not going to be the last time that he does this, so let's put it on the docket.'"

Trinidad, an East Bay native, joined Golden State in 2018 and has the final say on all of the team's bobblehead concepts. But the players still have veto power as to whether a product based on their likeness gets the green light.

For that last step of the process, Raymond Ridder, the team's senior vice president for communications, finds time, usually during the off-season, to show a sketch of the proposed design to Thompson, Stephen Curry, Draymond Green, Andrew Wiggins and others. From there, the player will vote yea or nay.

It has always been yes to the idea, Ridder said, although players sometimes chime in on the details. The players get to see their bobblehead, created by a company called Clones, at each step. Subsequent sketches and molds require an OK — and that's where players might get picky.

"They might say, 'My arms need a little more definition' or 'My face looks too big,'" Ridder said.

The only player who skips this part of the bobblehead assembly line is Thompson. It's not a personal thing; it's just that his off-season persona could serve as a bobblehead idea for next year: Ghost Klay.

"I'd have an easier time getting ahold of Joe Biden in the summer than Klay Thompson," Ridder said. "Klay is just really difficult, just getting him."

Instead, the team gets its bobblehead blessing from Thompson's agent, Greg Lawrence. Because Thompson loves his dog, Rocco, so much, there's a bobblehead featuring the bulldog by his side. Kayak Klay, which comes with a detachable oar, traces roots to the time Thompson paddled across the Bay in his kayak to get to practice at Chase Center.

Whatever the adventure, it's a boon to a marketing department that needs ideas for how to market core players who have been around for more than a decade. Who needs another bobblehead of Curry shooting a jump shot?

"Steph and Klay are the consistent ones," said Trinidad, who added that ideas for them are "consistently coming to the table, season after season, with new hobbies, new ventures, new activities that they're pursuing in their personal lives."

Besides the Paper Plane Klay giveaway on Oct. 20, Golden State is planning other bobbleheads. The team will give out a Curry College Grad commemorating the player's return to Davidson College to earn a degree in sociology; a Draymond Green Broadcaster to recognize his podcast; an Andrew Wiggins Jedi, just for fun; and Curry and Thompson Golf Bros., a shout-out to their match against Travis Kelce and Patrick Mahomes.

The Warriors' star unintentionally inspires Bobbleheads — like when he kayaked to practice and threw paper planes to the news media.

EZRA SHAW/GETTY IMAGES

Klay just being Klay continually inspires the marketing team.

Goofy as that list seems, it's serious to the Warriors and their fans. Trinidad said the annual process began with a Google doc that served as a master list of bobblehead ideas. Trinidad then culls the list for the ones best suited to drive fan interest in engagement. From there, a smaller group will meet until the chosen ones are anointed.

Does it ever become heated?

"Yes," Trinidad said. "Where it gets contentious is when the question is, 'What do we think fans will want the most?' Because that's where it's all subjective. My love for Paper Plane Klay might not be someone else's love. So we have to sort of meet in the middle on a lot of those."

Once the final cuts are made for the bobblehead squad, Golden State's standard order for fans is 10,000. The team orders additional items for their G League affiliate in Santa Cruz and for the team store at Chase Center.

The players get a stockpile, too. Trinidad did not name names, but she recalled one player requesting 700.

That player has much in common with fans, whose hunger for bobbleheads remains insatiable. Davis Fields, who grew up in Mountain View and describes himself as a fan "since the bad old days," is among those who have learned to get to the arena hours early on bobblehead night.

But he wound up conflicted in October 2014, when the team offered an Andre Iguodala bobblehead at a preseason game the same night as a Giants World Series game against the Kansas City Royals.

He was struggling with his decision when his girlfriend, Kira, volunteered for Iguodala. She took the transit to Oracle Arena, stood in line for two hours, got the bobblehead at the entrance — then turned around and went home.

"There are many reasons she's fantastic," Fields said, "but I remember thinking, 'Wow, what a great partner.'"

They are now married with two children, not including all the little ones in their display case.

Stories like this are like manna for Trinidad, who has overseen the creation of more than two dozen bobbleheads since February 2018. She said people misunderstand marketing in her case; after all, the team has a 477-game sellout streak.

Trinidad feels connected to Golden State fans, more so whenever she hears that there's a long line for one of her treasures or sees fans struggling with whether to immediately rip open the box or keep the prize tucked away.

"Even my daughters are like the proud kids at school who are like, 'Our mom works for the Warriors,'" she said. "It's being able to think about the positive moments that these items bring every season. It's fun to see how much these giveaways light people up."

Now all she needs is for Thompson to sign a lifetime contract.

Daniel Brown is a staff writer for The Athletic.

HOCKEY

An Effort to Give Recognition and Help to the Ones Who Discover the Stars

By JULIAN McKENZIE
The Athletic

Mike Penny, 71, has spent most of his adult life as a professional scout or the director of player personnel for the Toronto Maple Leafs, Rangers and Vancouver Canucks. But he refuses to take full credit for one of the most talented players he ever scouted, a dynamic talent who was skating with the vaunted Central Red Army as a teenager.

He might not have ever known about him if another Russian player he had drafted, Igor Larionov, did not give him the heads-up.

"I said to him, who's that guy there? And he said 'Oh, that's Pavel Bure,'" Penny said. "He's 17 years old. This was before he was draft eligible."

As Penny remembers, Russians who were drafted out of their home country or elsewhere in Europe — in the third round or later — needed to have played 11 games for the senior or junior national team in a sanctioned International Ice Hockey Federation event. Penny had accumulated stacks of game sheets, proving that Bure suited up for the Soviet Union in international competitions. When Bure was finally draft eligible in 1989, he kept being passed over, probably because not many teams knew he could be taken.

When the draft got to the sixth round, Penny said, he told the Canucks executive Pat Quinn, "Why don't we just take him?" He added: "What's the worst-case scenario if we're wrong? If we're right, you've got a heck of a player."

Despite other general managers being up in arms, the N.H.L. eventually ruled that the Canucks were correct to draft him. "And the rest is history," Penny said.

Penny's story is among the favorites told and retold by scouts across the world. They spend the hockey season traveling to games and being away from their families, all in the hope of finding the next franchise-changing gem. But unlike executives, coaches, players and even athletic trainers and members of the news media, who are sometimes recognized for their efforts by the Hockey Hall of Fame, scouts have not received the same treatment.

"It's a little frustrating that they don't get a lot of recognition," Penny said. "When you go to the draft, you have your dinners and the managers say thank you for your contribution over the course of the year. But in my years in the game, which is 54, I've never seen anybody in the N.H.L. publicly say to all those out there that have gone out and traveled the trails and been loyal to the National Hockey League: Thank you very much for your service."

Penny is not the only scout who feels that way. Garth Malarchuk is a longtime scout who, along with Penny, works for the Maple Leafs. He got his start working part time with the Calgary Flames while also working as a police detective and coaching an under-18 hockey team. He worked closely with Ian McKenzie, a chief scout for the Flames who helped find players like Mike Vernon, Theo Fleury and Tim Hunter; all three played crucial roles on the Flames' 1989 Stanley Cup-winning team.

Malarchuk, enjoying beers with a handful of fellow scouts on a fall night in Chilliwack, British Columbia, in 2022, spent the time reminiscing about how well McKenzie had treated him. McKenzie had died earlier that year.

DAVE SANDFORD/GETTY IMAGES, VIA NHLI

Mike Penny, right, at the 2002 N.H.L. draft. Penny helped form the Western Canada Professional Hockey Scouts Foundation.

Penny and Scott Bradley were present as well. Bradley's first draft as director of amateur scouting with the Boston Bruins was in 1997 when the team selected Joe Thornton as the No. 1 pick. He was also there when players like Milan Lucic, Patrice Bergeron and Brad Marchand were added through the draft. As they thought fondly of scouts like Edmonton's Barry Fraser and Philadelphia's Gerry Melnyk, it led to an idea they had long thought of and has since become a reality.

The Western Canada Professional Hockey Scouts Foundation was formed with the purpose of providing financial aid to hockey scouts across the network and recognizing those who played key roles with their clubs. On Saturday, the foundation held a charity roast of the "Hockey Night in Canada" host Ron MacLean featuring former players like Tim Hunter and Kevin Lowe and broadcasters like Elliotte Friedman, Dennis Beyak and Pete Maher.

Next summer, the foundation will unveil a video display, 8 feet by 12 feet, at Centennial Arena in Okotoks, Alberta. It will serve as a wall of honor, featuring profiles of scouts who have given years of their lives to N.H.L. teams. Malarchuk hopes the wall can be a tourist attraction and emphasize the importance of scouting.

"If you don't have a good scouting staff, you don't have a good team, that's the bottom line," Malarchuk said. "If they don't pick good players, you're not going to have a good team."

At the moment, the foundation is for scouts from Western Canada, but the idea eventually is to expand to the rest of the country.

Bradley said the foundation aspired to create something as tight-knit as the baseball scouting community in Major League Baseball. Twenty years ago, the Professional Baseball Scouts Foundation was formed. In 2020, the Baseball Assistance Team created the Professional Baseball Scouts Foundation Grant to help scouts in need of financial, medical and psychological aid.

"There's just so many things that the foundation can do once it gets up and rolling," said Bradley, who mentioned that it could send flowers to somebody who was not feeling well or help somebody out with a car payment or a hospital bill.

"This is a first in Canada, and we hope moving forward that Eastern Canada does the same thing," Malarchuk said. "And then who knows where it'll go from there?" *

Julian McKenzie covers the N.H.L. for The Athletic.